THE

TESTIMONY OF GOD

AGAINST SLAVERY:

A

COLLECTION OF PASSAGES FROM THE BIBLE,

WHICH SHOW THE

SIN OF HOLDING AND TREATING THE HUMAN SPECIES AS PROPERTY.

WITH NOTES.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

THE TESTIMONY OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD

AGAINST SLAVERY.

BY REV. LA ROY SUNDERLAND.

SECOND EDITION.

How canst thou say, I am not polluted? See thy way in the valley; know what thou hast done.—*In thy skirts is found the* BLOOD OF THE SOULS OF THE POOR INNOCENTS.—Yet thou sayest, Because I am *innocent*, surely his anger shall turn from me; behold, I will plead with thee, because thou sayest, I have not *sinned*. JER. ii. 23—35.

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PREFACE.

If Slavery is ever abolished from the world, it will be done by the influence of the Christian Religion. Men never will abandon slave-holding, till they feel it to be a sin against God; and the reason why all who are now concerned in the support of this system, do not feel and act under this conviction is, because they have not examined it in the light of God's word.

It is a solemn fact, that there is scarcely any one *sin* described in the inspired writings, in all its parts, features, and consequences, so clearly and explicitly, as is *the sin of holding and treating the human species as property;* and scarcely any other sin has been so frequently denounced in the Bible, with the fearful maledictions of Heaven. Let the reader examine the few passages quoted in the following pages, with a prayerful and unprejudiced mind, and let him ask himself, while doing this, what we may suppose God's design was, in dictating so much which we find in the Scriptures against *oppression* in all its forms, against *man-stealing*, against *defrauding the poor* of his right, and against *keeping back the hire* which is due to those who reap down our fields? Why has he, in so many instances, enjoined it upon man to show pity towards those of his species who are in distress, and to extend relief to all who are in trouble and unable to help themselves? Such passages, it will be perceived, make up no inconsiderable portion of the preceptive part of the Bible; and must these all be thrown away? Is there no sin committed by any of the human family now, against which they were designed to bear? Are not these passages of Holy Scripture now "*profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness?*"

In a word, who does not see, that if no part of the Scrip-

tures may now be brought to bear, with the utmost propriety, against the present *system of oppression* which prevails in this nation, merely because the circumstances under which this sin is now committed may differ, in some respects, from those in which men sinned when the various parts of the Bible were at first written, then it must follow, as an undeniable consequence, that no sins of any kind can be reproved, at the present day, in Scripture language, nor from Scripture authority.

It is not pretended that all the passages in the Bible, which relate to this subject, are brought forward in this little work, but it has been the author's design to notice the most of those which, it is believed, either directly or indirectly, show *slaveholding* to be a *sin;* and to do justice to the subject, none of those are omitted which have been so frequently quoted, and so strangely *tortured* to prove that the Bible justifies the system.

The work is divided into chapters, and the different authors or writers, from which the passages are quoted, are named at the head of each chapter. The notes are numbered to correspond with the texts upon which they are written.

This work has been prepared with the kindest of feelings, both towards the *enslaver* and *enslaved;* and if it should be the means of helping the friends of these two classes of our fellow-citizens, in any degree, to the use of those *heavenly weapons*, by which it is our duty to prosecute the great and good work of delivering the *oppressed* from the hands of the *oppressor*, the object will have been obtained. *For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God, to the pulling down of strong holds; casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God.*

SEPTEMBER 4, 1836.

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CHAPTER I.

WHAT IS SLAVERY?

The inquiry here is, not what was Roman or Grecian slavery, but what is *American* slavery? What is that slavery which has been created and which is still sanctioned by law in these United States?

We answer, it is the condition of those of our species who are held and treated as *property.* In South Carolina, this state is described in the following language; — "Slaves shall be deemed, sold, taken, reputed and adjudged in law to be *chattels, personal,* in *the hands of their owners and possessors,* and their executors, administrators, and assigns, *to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever.*"

The law of Louisiana declares: —

"A slave is one who is in the power of the master to whom he belongs. The master may *sell him, dispose of his person, his industry and labor; he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire anything, but what must belong to his master.*"

An act of the State of Maryland, declares slaves to be *property,* in these words: —

"In case the personal property of a ward shall consist of specific articles such as SLAVES, WORKING BEASTS, ANIMALS of ANY KIND, stock, furniture, plate, books, &c., the court, if it shall deem it advantageous for the ward, may, at any time, pass an order for the sale thereof."

"Slaves shall always be reputed and considered *real estate;* shall be, as such, subject to be mortgaged, according to the rules prescribed by law, and they shall be seized and sold as *real estate.*" Act of Louisiana.

Hence it appears that the distinguishing principle of slavery is this: slaves are not to be ranked among rational, immortal beings, but they are to be *considered, held and treated as things, as articles of property.*

Now, whether the Holy Scriptures afford any authority for the assumption of that right or power, by which the enslaved are held in this condition, and subjected to the evils which directly or indirectly flow from it, may be determined at once, when we shall have seen how far this power extends.

From an examination of the slave laws, it will be found that the master's authority over his slave is as unlimited as it is over any other property.

He may at any time inflict any punishment upon the person of his slave.

He may determine the kind and degree and time of labor to which the slave shall be subjected.

He may supply the slave with such food and clothing only, both as to quantity and quality, as may suit his own pleasure or convenience. All the power of the master over his slave may be exercised not by himself, but only by any other person whom he may appoint as his agent.

Slaves have no legal right of property, not even in themselves, nor in anything else, real or personal, but whatever they may acquire, by labor, belongs, in point of law, to their masters.

The slave, being a *personal chattel*, is at all times liable to be *leased*, *mortgaged*, or sold absolutely at the mere will of his master; or he may be sold by process of law for the satisfaction of the debts of a living, or the debts and bequests of a deceased master, at the suit of creditors or legatees.

A slave cannot be a party before a judicial tribunal, in any species of action against his master, no matter how atrocious may have been the injury received from him.

Slaves cannot redeem themselves, nor obtain a change of masters, though the most cruel treatment may have rendered such a change necessary for their personal safety.

Slaves being objects of *property*, if injured by third persons, their owners may bring suit, and recover damages for the injury.

Slaves can make no contracts.

Slavery is hereditary and perpetual.*

Here, then, we see that *Slavery* is not *servitude* merely, nor the right to the service of another, where there is an equivalent, or considerations which render the demand for service just; but it is the assumption and exercise of that power which holds and treats the human species as *property*.

It does not allow to the slave the rights of his own reason and conscience.

It annihilates the family state; prevents the parents from obeying the command of God, with regard to their children; it prohibits, or nullifies, the marriage rites, and prevents husbands and wives from obeying the command of God with regard to each other.

It enjoins, or sanctions, promiscuous intercourse between the sexes, without the rites of marriage.

It holds all the religious privileges of the slave at the mere mercy of his master, whether that master be infidel, papist, or protestant.

It prevents the slaves from obeying that command of God which makes it the duty of all men to "search the Scriptures."

Its direct tendency is to crush the mind of God's intelligent creatures, by forbidding and preventing all schools for "mental instruction."

It withholds the hire of the laborer.

* Stroud.

It sanctions and covers the breach of the eighth commandment. It justifies the very same thing which our laws and the laws of nations punish as piracy, if committed on the coast of Africa, or on the high seas. It originates and justifies what the Bible calls "Man-stealing."

It denies to the slave adequate protection for his character, his health and life, and more or less endangers his present and eternal salvation.

Such, then, is the condition of millions of our species in this Christian land; and against that assumed power which keeps them in this state, God has left the instructions, warnings, and threatenings of His unerring word.

CHAPTER II.

MOSES.

The bondage of the Israelites in Egypt, and the measures which God took to liberate them.

1. And the LORD said, I have surely seen the affliction of my people which are in Egypt, and have heard their cry by reason of their task-masters; for I know their sorrows. Ex. iii, 7.

1. Now, therefore, behold, the cry of the children of Israel is come unto me; and I have also seen the oppression wherewith the Egyptians oppress them. Ex. iii, 9.

3. And it came to pass, in process of time, that the king of Egypt died; and the children of Israel sighed by reason of the bondage, and they cried, and their cry came up unto God, by reason of the bondage. And God heard their groaning, and God remembered his covenant, and God looked upon the children of Israel, and God had respect unto them. Ex. ii, 23.

4. Thus saith the LORD God of the Hebrews, let my people go, that they may serve me. Ex. ix, 1.

5. Thus saith the LORD God of the Hebrews, How long wilt thou refuse to humble thyself before me? let my people go that they may serve me. Ex. x, 3.

6. And Pharaoh commanded, the same day, the task-masters of the people, and their officers, saying, Ye shall no more give the people straw to make brick, as heretofore; let them go and gather straw for themselves. And the tale of the bricks, which they did make heretofore, ye shall lay upon them; ye shall not diminish aught thereof; for they be idle; therefore they cry, saying, Let us go and sacrifice to our God. Ex. v, 6.

7. So the people were scattered abroad throughout all the land of Egypt to get their stubble instead of straw. And the task-masters hasted them, saying,

Fulfill your works, your daily tasks, as when there was straw. Ex. v, 12.

8. And the officers of the children of Israel, which Pharaoh's task-masters had set over them, were beaten, and demanded, Wherefore have ye not fulfilled your task in making brick, both yesterday and to-day, as heretofore? Ex. v, 14.

9. And the officers of the children of Israel did see that they were in evil case, after it was said, Ye shall not diminish aught from your bricks of your daily task. And they met Moses and Aaron, who stood in the way, as they came forth from Pharaoh; and they said unto them, The LORD look upon you, and judge; because ye have made our savour to be abhorred in the eyes of Pharaoh, and in the eyes of his servants to put a sword in their hand to slay us. Ex. v, 19.

10. And Moses returned unto the LORD, and said, LORD, wherefore hast thou so evil-entreated this people? Why is it that thou hast sent me? For since I come to Pharaoh to speak in thy name, he hath done evil to this people: neither hast thou delivered thy people at all. Ex. v, 22.

11. And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am the LORD: I have also heard the groaning of the children of Israel, whom the Egyptians keep in bondage; and I have remembered my covenant. Wherefore say unto the children of Israel, I

am the LORD, and I will bring you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians, and I will rid you out of their bondage. Ex. vi, 2.

12. And Moses spake so unto the children of Israel, but they hearkened not unto Moses for anguish of spirit and for cruel bondage. Ex. vi, 9,

NOTES ON CHAPTER I.

1. *I have surely seen the afflictions of my people.* The people of God, at this time, were held in slavery by the Egyptians; and though the bondage which they were compelled to endure was certainly not so cruel and severe as that which nearly three millions of American citizens are now doomed to suffer; yet the Infinite Being manifested the most feeling pity for their sorrows. And how can a believer in the truth of the Bible suppose, for one moment, that this same unchangeable God is now an indifferent spectator merely, to the accumulated wrongs which thousands of the poor slaves are forced to endure in this Christian land, — thousands who are his people, who love him, but who are not permitted to read his word, nor to worship him according to the dictates of their own consciences?

2. *I have also seen their oppression.* Oppression is the spoiling or taking another's goods, or the fruit of his own labor, by constraint, terror, or force; and men commit this crime whenever they offer any violence to the persons, or estates, or consciences of others. If the Israelites were oppressed by the Egyptians, what may be said of millions of the human species in this land, who are every day robbed of the fruit of their own labor?

3. *And God heard their groanings.* And does he not now hear the groanings of the enslaved? Has he no respect unto the sighings of millions who now cry unto him by reason of their chains?

4. *Let my people go.* And now, if God uttered his testimony against the slavery which his people endured thousands of years ago, and if he commanded their oppressors to let them go free, how can it be made to appear that he does not do this now?

5. *And Pharaoh commanded the task-masters.* The persons who were placed over the slaves in Egypt, were denominated "task-masters;" it was their office to appoint them their work, and exact its daily performance. In the Hebrew, they are called "princes of burdens," and in the Septuagint, "overseers of the works;" in the dialect of this land, these officers are called "overseers," "masters," and "soul-drivers"

6. *Ye shall not diminish aught thereof.* And how often Pharaoh has been denounced as a most unmerciful tyrant, for his having made this oppressive requisition! And this, too, by thousands who seem never to have thought that similar exactions have been imposed upon the slaves of this land. Their "masters" tell us the slaves must not, and cannot, and shall not be set free, till they are fit, or prepared to make a good use of their freedom; and yet these very "masters" are constantly devising means to strengthen the chains by which the slaves have been, and still are, degraded and made incapable (as they say) of taking care of themselves. Though these same slaves now support themselves and their "masters" besides, with their chains on, yet we are told that if their chains were to be taken off, they could not and would not even take care of themselves!

That the people of the south are really desirous of prepar-

ing their slaves to enjoy their liberty, if, indeed, they should ever be favored with it, take the following in evidence; it is an act lately passed by the State of South Carolina, "To *amend* the laws, in relation to the slaves and free persons of color."

SEC. 2. Be it enacted by the Honorable, the Senate and House of Representatives, now met and sitting in General Assembly, and by the authority of the same; if any person shall hereafter teach any slave to read or write, or shall aid or assist in teaching slaves to read or write; or cause, or procure any slave to read or write; such person, if a free white person, upon conviction thereof, shall, for each and every offence against this act, be fined not exceeding one hundred dollars, and imprisoned not more than six months; or if a free person of color, shall be whipped not exceeding fifty lashes, and fined not exceeding fifty dollars, at the discretion of the Court of Magistrates and free-holders before whom such free person of color is tried; and if a slave, shall be whipped at the discretion of the Court, not exceeding fifty lashes; the informer to be entitled to one half of the fine, and to be a competent witness; and if any free person of color or slave shall keep any school or other place of instruction for teaching any slave or free person of color to read or write, such free person of color or slave, shall be liable to the same fine, imprisonment, or corporeal punishment, as are by this section imposed and inflicted on free persons of color or slaves, for teaching slaves to read or write."

"SEC. 2. If any person shall employ or keep as a clerk, any slave or free person of color, or shall permit any slave or free person of color, to act as a clerk or salesman, in or about any shop, store, or house, used for trading, such person shall be liable to be indicted therefor, and upon conviction thereof, shall be fined for each and every offence, not exceeding one hundred dollars, and be imprisoned not exceeding six months;

the informer to be a competent witness, and to be entitled to one half of the fine".

7. *They were in an evil case.* Sure enough they were. The slaves of this age cannot be set free, because, forsooth, they are not properly instructed, and the above and many other similar laws declare, under the penalties of *whipping*, *fine*, *imprisonment*, and DEATH, that the slaves must not, and shall not be instructed, lest they should be set free, or by this means obtain their liberty! This is certainly an "*evil* case."

8. *Ye have made our savour to be abhorred in the eyes of Pharaoh.* So it seems those Israelites did really find their bondage increased by the very efforts which God and his servants were making to get them free. But Moses did not consider this a sufficient reason why he should cease to plead for their freedom. And shall we, of the present age, forbear to preach the truth because some sinners will not repent? Does it alter the course of our duty, when some "harden their hearts," and "wax worse and worse," after they "have received the holy commandment delivered unto them?" If not, why then should we be so often reproached with having retarded the abolition of slavery in this land? And this is the strongest, and in fact about the only objection which many serious and good people can bring against the Anti-Slavery movements of the present day. We try to do something,—*they* do nothing, except to denounce our means and measures, yet we retard the abolition of slavery!" The Lord be judge between us and them.

There can be no doubt that the hearts of many "masters," in this nation, are now hardened in precisely the same way that Pharaoh's was; and God has just as much agency in hardening their hearts now, as he ever had in hardening the heart of Pharaoh. God says now, as he has long been doing to

them, "Let these slaves go free!" and they hear this voice of God in the dictates of reason and humanity, they hear it in the precepts of the Bible, and they acknowledge it in the great charter of our national existence; yet they refuse to obey it, and in doing so they harden their hearts.

CHAPTER III.

MOSES.

The different kinds of servitude allowed among the Hebrews.

1. If thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years he shall serve; and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing. Ex. xxi, 2.

2. And if a man sell his daughter to be a maid-servant, she shall not go out as the men-servants do. If she please not her master who hath betrothed her unto himself, then shall he let her be redeemed; to sell her unto a strange nation he shall have no power, seeing that he has dealt deceitfully with her. And if he have betrothed her unto his son, he shall deal with her after the manner of his daughters. If he take him another wife, her food, her raiment, and

her duty of marriage, shall he not diminish. And if he do not these three unto her, then shall she go out free without money. Ex. xxi, 7.

3. If a thief be found breaking up — he should make full restitution; if he have nothing, then he shall be sold for his theft. Ex. xxii, 2.

4. And if a man smite his servant or his maid, with a rod, and he die under his hand; he shall be surely punished. Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished, for he is his money. Ex. xxi, 20.

5. And he that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death. Ex. xxi, 16.

6. Thou shalt neither vex a stranger, nor oppress him; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt. Ye shall not afflict any widow or fatherless child. If thou afflict them in anywise, and they cry at all unto me, I will surely hear their cry, and my wrath shall wax hot, and I will kill you with the sword; and your wives shall be widows and your children fatherless. Ex. xxii, 21.

7. Ye shall not steal, neither deal falsely, neither lie one to another. Lev. xix, 11.

8. Thou shalt not defraud thy neighbor, neither rob him; the wages of him that is hired shall not abide with thee all night until the morning. Lev. xix, 13.

9. Thou shalt not curse the deaf, nor put a stumbling block before the blind, but shalt fear thy God. Lev. xix, 14.

10. Thou shalt not avenge nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people, but thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself; I am the LORD. Lev. xix, 18.

11. And if thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee, then thou shalt relieve him; yea, though he be a stranger, or a sojourner; that he may live with thee. Lev. xxv, 35.

12. And if thy brother that dwelleth by thee be waxen poor, and be sold unto thee, thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bond-servant. But as an hired servant, and as a sojourner, he shall be with thee, and shall serve thee unto the year of jubilee; and then shall he depart from thee, — for they are my servants — they shall not be sold as bond-men. Thou shalt not rule over him with rigor, but shalt fear thy God. Lev. xxv, 39.

13. Both thy bond-men, and thy bond-maids which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bond-men and bond-maids. Lev. xxv, 44.

14. And if ye go to war in your land against the enemy that oppresseth you, then ye shall blow an alarm with the trumpets; and ye shall be remem-

bered before the LORD your God, and ye shall be saved from your enemies. Num. x, 9.

15. Thou shalt not steal, neither shalt thou desire thy neighbor's wife, neither shalt thou covet thy neighbor's house, his field, or his man-servant, or his maid-servant, his ox, or his ass, or anything that is thy neighbor's. Deut. v, 19—21.

16. For the LORD your God is God of gods, and LORD of lords, a great God, a mighty, and a terrible, which regardeth not persons, nor taketh reward. He doth execute the judgment of the fatherless and widow, and loveth the stranger, in giving him food and raiment; love ye, therefore, the stranger; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt. Deut. x, 17.

17. If there be among you a poor man of one of thy brethren within any of thy gates, in thy land which the LORD thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not harden thine heart, nor shut thine hand from thy poor brother; but thou shalt open thine hand wide unto him, and shalt surely lend him sufficient for his in that which he wanteth. Deut. xv. 7.

18. Beware that there be not a thought in thy wicked heart, saying, The seventh year the year of release, is at hand; and thine eye be evil against thy poor brother, and thou givest him nought; and he cry unto the LORD against thee, and it be sin unto thee. Deut. xv, 9.

19. Thou shalt surely give him, and thine heart

shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him; because that for this thing the LORD thy God shall bless thee in all thy works, and in all that thou puttest thine hand unto. Deut. xv, 10.

20. For the poor shall never cease out of the land; therefore I command thee, saying, Thou shalt open thine hand wide unto thy brother, to thy poor and to thy needy in thy land. Deut. xv, 11.

21. And if thy brother, an Hebrew man, or an Hebrew woman, be sold unto thee, and serve thee six years, then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from thee. And when thou sendest him out free from thee, thou shalt not let him go away empty. Deut. xv, 12.

22. Thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock, and out of thy floor, and out of thy winepress; of that wherewith the LORD thy God hath blessed thee thou shalt give unto him. Deut. xv, 14.

23. It shall not seem hard unto thee, when thou sendest him away free from thee; for he hath been worth a double hired servant to thee, in serving thee six years; and the LORD thy God shall bless thee in all that thou doest. Deut. xv, 18.

24. Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee; he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress him. Deut. xxiii, 15.

25. If a man be found stealing any of his brethren of the children of Israel, and maketh merchandize of him, or selleth him; then that thief shall die; and thou shalt put evil away from among you. Deut. xxiv, 7.

26. Thou shalt not oppress an hired servant that is poor and needy, whether he be of thy brethren, or of thy strangers that are in thy land within thy gates; at his day thou shalt give him his hire, neither shall the sun go down upon it; for he is poor, and setteth his heart upon it; lest he cry against thee unto the LORD, and it be sin unto thee. Deut. xxiv, 14.

27. Thou shalt not pervert the judgment of the stranger, nor of the fatherless, nor take the widow's raiment to pledge; but thou shalt remember, that thou wast a bond-man in Egypt, and the LORD thy God redeemed thee thence; therefore I command thee to do this thing. Deut. xxiv, 17.

NOTES ON CHAPTER III.

We are so much accustomed to think of a man's going to a slave market, and buying servants for a third person, just as he would buy an ox or a horse, that we can hardly imagine any other way in which a person should obtain servants with money. But how was it in ancient times, when the Bible was written? Let us look and see what was the usage, and *who it was that sold,* when they bought servants.

There was Joseph, who bought the Egyptians for Pharaoh, not with money, but with corn, and they became Pharaoh's servants. Who sold in that case? They sold themselves. See Genesis, 47. So it is said to Ahab, "Thou hast sold thyself to work evil in the sight of the Lord." 1 Kings xxi, 20. And in 2 Kings, xvii, 17, it is said the children of Israel "*sold themselves* to do evil in the sight of the Lord." So the terms bought and sold are permanently applied to a mutual contract to do service for a compensation. Indeed, I may say, this is the general idea in the Scriptures. "His servants ye are to whom ye obey." In examining the Scriptures it is necessary always to take care and not suffer modern practices to fix images in our minds to exclude the truth.

I ask if there is anything to show that Abraham or any of the patriarchs ever sold a slave? Did they belong to his estate, and descend to his heirs? What became of them when Jacob went to Padan-Aram, and was a servant himself for twenty years? When he returned to Canaan, he had servants himself in large numbers. But we find after that, his sons keeping sheep. Then, after that, he went into Egypt. What became of all those servants? They were not sold. The truth is, they were voluntary servants, the obligation was at an end, and they remained in their own country.

There is another fact showing the nature of the service that existed in those early days. When the enemy came from Egypt, and took Lot and his neighbors, and all their substance, Abraham determined to pursue after them, and he took 318 of these servants, born in his own house. Is there a slaveholder in the United States, who would do this, would arm his slaves to pursue an enemy? Put arms into the hands of involuntary servants, and you may well expect they will use them against their masters. Abraham's servants, therefore, were doubtless voluntary servants, serving him by a

contract of their own, whether for wages, or for a living, and for protection Abraham was then, what many an Arab chief is now, the head of a tribe. The children of Heth understood the institutions of their own time, and they tell us just how it was, when they say to Abraham, "Hear us, my lord; thou art a mighty prince among us." Genesis xxiii, 6. And as such, he had a large number of followers, who were dependent on him, obeyed him, labored for him, and were protected and supported by him. But it was only a voluntary service. The father of the faithful was not a slaveholder, nor was he a man who would go to the slave-markets, and human shambles, to make merchandize of the bodies and souls of men.

It is commonly said by our learned men, who write on Biblical antiquities, just as it was said by the Popish writers from whom they borrow their learning on this subject, such as Calmet, Jahn, &c., that the law of Moses sanctions slavery. And the reason which is given, is, that it is said he found slavery so deeply rooted among the Jews that he could not root it out, and therefore he let it remain, and contented himself with regulating it. Now, look at this doctrine. The Jews had been slaves themselves, for generations, and were only just three months out of bondage, when the law of Moses was given. Is it credible that they could in that time have become such an incorrigible set of slaveholders, that Moses, though clothed with divine authority, was not able to manage them?

Let us now look at the law itself, in reference to the countenance it is supposed to give to modern slavery. It is said by the writers, that the Jews had slaves lawfully in several different ways. One is by captivity, as where they spared the lives of the Canaanites who were doomed to death, and these they might hold as slaves. But there is no truth in this. They had an express law respecting the Canaanites.

It is given in Deut. xx, 16—18. "But of the cities of these people, which the Lord thy God giveth thee for an inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth; but thou shalt utterly destroy them, as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee, that they teach you not to do after their abominations," &c. This leaves none to be taken prisoners, without a direct violation of the commandment. Where then is there room for slavery? There is none. The Jews were never allowed, in any circumstances, to make slaves of the Canaanites.

In regard to the surrounding idolatrous nations, without the limits of the devoted Canaanites, the law is different. We have it in a preceding verse of the same chapter: "When thou comest nigh unto a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it." And if they would not accept the offer of peace, then they were to make war, and beseige, and take it. And then they were to smite every male. There could be no male prisoners of war to be made slaves. But the females and the little ones were to be taken. What for? For slaves? That is not in the text. They were to be taken as a part of the spoil. The text does not direct what shall be done with them. It only says, "Thou shalt eat the spoil." No one would argue from this that the Jews were commanded to eat their prisoners. But there is a great deal more authority for that in the passage, than there is for enslaving them. What then were they to do with the women and children? I answer, They were to take them home and treat them kindly. And especially, they were not to be oppressed. The law is very full on this point, in Exodus xxii, 22. "Ye shall not afflict *any* widow or fatherless child." You see all these women and children would be widows or orphans, and therefore not to be oppressed. And if they should oppress such, God said he would hear their cry, and would visit the oppressor with judgments. Does this look

like a permission to make slaves of them? I wish every slaveholder, and every apologist for slavery, would read the law on this point, in the following verses: "If thou afflict them *in anywise*, and they cry *at all* unto me, I will surely hear their cry, and my wrath shall wax hot, and I will kill you with the sword; *and your wives shall be widows, and your children fatherless.*" That is the provision which the law of Moses made for the security of these widowed and orphan captives against oppression. And then they were to be incorporated with the people of Israel, and every third year a tenth part of the produce of the fields was to be set apart for the very purpose of maintaining persons in this situation — for the poor, the widow, and the fatherless.

God often reminds his people not to oppress strangers, because they had been strangers; and he says to them, "Ye know the heart of a stranger." Did he at the same time authorize them to seize upon strangers, and claim them as property, and reduce them to the condition of a mere appendage, a chattel, a thing? He says, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Any specific action that is contrary to that, is against the law of God.

We have further evidence that God did not intend to sanction slavery. It was a standing law, that "He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." Another standing law of Israel was this: "Thou shalt not deliver to his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee: he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates; thou shalt not oppress him." Deut. xxiii, 14 — 15. Take these two laws together, and it is impossible that slavery, or involuntary servitude should exist. It is not to be understood as applicable to men who have received the pay for their labor, and then refuse to complete their own contract, but of men who are held to involuntary

servitude, that is, to slaves from among the heathen, where slavery was a common thing; for, by the supposition, there were and could be none among the Israelites. There the law was, that if a slave escaped from bondage, and fled to the land of Israel, the whole nation should rise up and protect him. So sacredly does the law of God regard human liberty.

On the other side, we often hear it granted, that the Jews were not allowed to enslave their brethren, nor to steal slaves from the heathen. But it is said, they might go to the slave markets in the surrounding heathen nations, and *buy* slaves, and hold them forever. But I find it difficult to see how this can be done at any rate, without robbery. Suppose a man goes to the slave-market, and buys a slave — can he *buy* any better title than the seller *sells?* The transfer is in fact only exchanging the robbery, and putting the stolen property into other hands. Would God sanction such a practice? See how it is spoken of incidentally in other cases.

There is the case of Joseph, who was sold to the Ishmaelites. That was as fair a slave deal as ever I heard of. But what does Joseph say to it? "For indeed," says he, "I was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews," Gen. xl. 15. Those Arabs stole him, although they bought him, and paid their money for him. This settles the question, that buying a man and paying money for him is man-stealing, according to Scripture language.

Again, it is said, that debtors, who could not pay their debts, might lawfully be reduced to slavery, and sold for payment. This is laid down as law in almost every modern commentary on the laws of Moses. Now, look at it, Here is a man who has been unfortunate, and is not able to pay a debt which he has contracted, and it is said that the law enacted by the Almighty allows him to be sold into perpetual slavery, extending to his children and his poster-

ity forever. If God has sanctioned this, I will yield the point; but let us look at the proof, and see if he really has lent his sanction to such a method of procedure. What is the spirit of the Levitical law in regard to debts? Read Duet. xv, 1—10.

Does that look like selling poor debters into slavery? Our hearts are so calculating and avaricious now, that we cannot receive such a law in its simple and obvious meaning. We can hardly conceive of society organized on such a principle, as that no debt should be binding over seven years. Such a society would be almost like Heaven. Every kind disposition, every generous feeling is encouraged, and no sanction or authority given to any harshness or severity towards unfortunate debtors. That law places the poor under the special protection of Heaven, and leaves them no longer subject to the gripe of the unmerciful. No wonder David loved the law of God. How his mind glows and burns as he contemplates that law. It was sweeter to him than honey, or the honey-comb.

But was there no servitude among the Jews? Yes, doubtless there was The relation of servant is as necessary to the happiness and comfort of society as any other relation. The chapter before us, Deut. xv, assures us that "the poor shall never cease out of the land." And the poor have need of the rich, as well as the rich need of the poor. There is a mutual dependence, and mutual obligation. But their natural rights are the same, and both are recognized and established and secured by the laws of Moses.

But it is said that some are *born slaves*. So it is said in the schools; so it is said in the commentaries; so it is extensively believed and practised; that if a parent is a slave, that alone condemns the child to slavery. But how say the Scriptures? "They shall say no more, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge."

Jer. xxxi, 29. Here it is laid down as a maxim of the divine law that children shall not suffer the penalty of their father's sin, but that "every one shall die for his own iniquity." And therefore it is not reasonable to suppose that God would sanction the practice of enslaving children on account of either the conduct or the condition of their parents.

But if we look further into the Scripture usages, we shall find that a home-born servant, instead of being enslaved, was considered entitled to peculiar privileges. David alludes to this relation, and claims or asks for the benefit of it, in Psalm 116, where he exclaims, "I am thy servant, and the son of thy handmaid, thou hast loosed my bonds." Jeremiah alludes to it, "Is Israel a servant? Is he a home-born *slave?* Why is he spoiled?" Jer. ii, 14. There, if you will look in your Bibles, you will see that the word *slave* is in Italics, because there is no word for it in Hebrew, but the translators put it in to fill up the sense, as they thought, but it is plain, from what follows, that they erred. The inquiry is this, "Is Israel a servant, yea, a *home-born*, i e. a privileged one? Why is *he* spoiled?" The prophet wonders to see *him* despoiled of the rights and privileges which belonged to him. The truth is, that a home-born servant, so far from being a slave, had advantages secured to him which a hired servant was not entitled to. — [*Rev. James H. Dickey.*]

2. *If a man sell his daughter.* "This the Jews allowed no man to do," says Dr. A. Clarke, on this place, "but in extreme distress, when he had no goods, either moveable or immoveable, left, even to the clothes on his back; and he had this permission only while she was *unmarriagable.* It may appear at first view strange, that such a law should be given; but let it be remembered, that this servitude could extend, at the utmost, only to six years; and that it was nearly the same

as in some cases of *apprenticeship* among us; where the parents *bind* the child for *seven years*, and have from his master so much for work during that time."

3. *He shall be sold for his theft.* And how many slave masters in this nation would now have to be sold themselves into slavery, were they to be judged by this law!

4. *He shall be surely punished.* And here is another feature of the Mosaic law, in relation to servants, which shows how unjust and cruel that system of slavery is, which prevails in this land; among the Jews, if a servant was killed by the cruel treatment of his master, that master was punished with death. See Gen. ix, 5 — *Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.* But not so now among us; in the United States, scores and hundreds of slaves have been killed by the treatment of their "masters" and "drivers," and not a single instance was ever known here of a white man being hung for the murder of a slave! And yet these very persons refer us to this passage of Scripture, as a justification of slave-holding, because it is added, *notwithstanding, if he remain a day or two, he shall not be punished, for he is his money.* That is, if the servant survive a day or two after he had been deservedly beaten by his master, and then died, it might be presumed in that case that he died from some other cause, and consequently the only punishment which the master should suffer was the loss of the servant's time, for the servant was to him, for the time being, instead of money. This passage is far from asserting that the servant was his master's property, in the same sense in which slaves are supposed to be the master's property by the enslavers of this country; the sense of it is, simply, the servant is to his master instead of money; he represents, for the time being, his master's money.

5. *He shall surely be put to death.* And would Ameri-

can *Christian* enslavers be willing to be judged by this law? And is there one solitary slave-holder in this nation, who, according to this precept, is not either a man-thief, or a receiver of those who have been stolen? It does not and cannot alter the case, as to the manner in which one has come into the possession of those human beings whom he claims as his property; if they are found in his hand, this law says he should be put to death.

6. *I will surely hear their cry.* The people of this land once felt themselves oppressed by the government of Great Britain. At that time they were comparatively poor and defenceless; but they cried unto the LORD and entreated Him to undertake for them; and now the most sceptical acknowledge that God did hear their cries, and that He did undertake for them against those who oppressed them. And now, who can read these words, and think of the millions of poor slaves who are so cruelly oppressed by this nation, and not tremble in view of the danger to which it must, according to the principles of God's government, be exposed! Are there no orphan children, no afflicted widows, among our millions of slaves, whose cries God, in justice, may yet hear? And was it in answer to the cries of such, and in fulfillment of the threatening here denounced, that he permitted the dreadful scenes which occurred at Southampton, in Virginia, a few years ago?

7. *Neither deal falsely, neither lie one to another.* The following fact may be given for thousands of the kind, which are constantly occurring among the enslavers of the human species; it is from the Hudson (Ohio) Observer; and it is said to have taken place not long since. "Mr. R., a public officer, boarding at the same place with myself, is a slave-holder, and a strong advocate for slavery. He came home a few days since and related the following circumstances.

"The Rev. Mr. B. is the owner of several slaves, one of which has a wife that belongs to another man in the city. The slave had been guilty of some crime and was confined in jail; and the Rev. Mr. B. came to me, not more than half an hour after preaching a funeral sermon, and offered to sell him to me. I went to the jail with Mr. ——, a noted slave-trader, to see the slave, and then returned and closed the bargain with the Rev. Mr. B., his master. 'Now,' said Mr. B., 'do not tell the slave that you have bought him, but that I have let him out to you.' No, said I, I shall tell him no lies. We then went again to the jail, and Rev. Mr. B. said to the negro, "Robert, I have hired you out to this man for a time, you must go with him.'

"But Robert, suspecting the horrid truth from his having been just before examined by the slave-dealer, looked up to Mr. B. and said, 'No, you have sold me to go down the river. Now, Mr. B.,' he continued, 'you profess to be a Christian and a preacher of the gospel, *but how do you expect to get to Heaven, when you will sell me from my wife to be sent down the river?*' " Here, this preaching slave-holder and slave-dealer tells a lie himself, and attempts also to induce his neighbor to tell another, and all this in addition to his crime of having sold for money the *image* of the infinite God, and parted forever a husband from his wife!

8. *The wages of him that is hired.* If it was a sin against God for one under the Mosaic economy to retain the wages of a hired servant for the space of one night only, how much more guilty must one be now, under the gospel dispensation, who compels a man to work during his whole life time, and pays him nothing for hire?

9. *A stumbling-block before the blind.* And is it no *crime* in the sight of a holy God, to MAKE *millions of human beings* BLIND, as the slaves in this country are made,

by the unjust and oppressive laws which forbid their instruction, even in a Sabbath school? This the laws of Louisiana do under the penalty of *five hundred dollars fine* for the first offence, and *death* for the second!

10. *Love thy neighbor as thyself.* Do those who *violently withhold* their neighbors' *liberty* from them, love their neighbor *as* themselves? And how near do those come to the fulfilling of this command, who sell husbands and part them forever from their wives? who sell children and part them forever from their parents? Do those love their neighbors *as* themselves, who take the avails of their labor without paying them for it?

11. *Thou shalt relieve him.* No class of men in the known world suffer a greater amount of evils than the slaves of this country; but from what part of these evils the slaveholders or their apologists are now endeavoring to relieve them, it is not very easy to determine. See Chapters one and six.

12. *Thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bond-servant.* No Hebrew could be compelled to serve a master more than six years; but a bond-servant, that is, one who was not an Hebrew, might be compelled to serve till the year of jubilee. A Hebrew might be retained in servitude till the year of jubilee, if it was his own choice, not otherwise. See Ex. xxi, 5—6. Nor, indeed, could a Hebrew, nor any stranger, be retained in servitude any time after he was abused and treated with unjustifiable severity by his master. See Ex. xxi, 26—27. Are all slaves in this land set free as soon as they are maimed by their masters or drivers?

Every seventh day among the Jews was a Sabbath, or day of rest; every seventh year was also a Sabbath year, during which the land and the people rested, and all Hebrew servants were at liberty to go free from their masters. And then every

fiftieth year was termed a jubilee, beyond which time no servant could be held to the service of his master. See Chap. iv, 11.

13. *Of them shall ye buy bond-men and bond-maids.* The word used here by our translators is *bondmen*, but in the original Hebrew it is the same that is commonly translated *servants*, and it is not easy to see why the translators changed the word. As it is, this is the great proof-text of the slave-holder, to which he always retreats as his final strong hold. It would not answer his purpose half so well if it had been translated *servants*, as it is in other places. But let us examine it a little. This text is said to authorize both buying slaves as merchandize, and holding men in perpetual, and hereditary slavery. But in the first place, it nowhere authorizes the enslaving of children born of these bondmen. It is one mistake of the slave-holder, in supposing that the Israelites were allowed to hold such children in slavery. On the contrary, they were required by the Abrahamic covenant to be circumcised the eighth day, and thus enrolled among God's visible people. It is another mistake in supposing that these bondmen were purchased in a slave-market, as slaves are purchased in this country. The laws that prohibited man-stealing, and the delivering up of fugitive servants are totally inconsistent with the idea that there could be slave-markets in the nation of Israel. And as to the supposition that they were permitted to go out as soul drivers, on a voyage of speculation, into the surrounding heathen nations, to buy up slaves, it is too forbidding to be believed without evidence. How then were they to acquire these bondmen? If we observe the language of scripture carefully, it will set us right on this point. Read two or three of the succeeding verses:

"And if a sojourner or a stranger wax rich by thee, and thy brother that dwelleth by him wax poor, and sell himself

unto the stranger or sojourner by thee, or to the stock of the stranger's family: after that he is sold he may be redeemed again; one of his brethren may redeem him."

Here you see how they became bondmen. They *sold themselves*; that is, they made a contract of service, it may be for a term of years, or for life, or indefinitely, but it was a contract of their own. And if it was indefinite, or whatever it might be, the year of jubilee put an end to it, and proclaimed liberty to all.

It is understood by some that the word *forever*, in the forty-sixth verse, refers not to the duration of the servitude at all, (though if it did, the jubilee would terminate it) but to the duration of the law; and then the meaning would be, that you shall forever obtain your bondmen from the surrounding nations.—[*Rev. James H. Dickey.*]

And it should always be borne in mind, in the examination of this subject, that, though the ancient Hebrews were permitted to buy servants and keep them for a limited time, yet they were never authorized to *steal* them, or to buy or keep those who had been *stolen*, and not only so, but those who were bought *sold themselves*, as may be seen by consulting the forty-seventh verse of this chapter, and also 1 Kings xxi, 20; 2 Kings vii, 17; and Gen, xlvii, 24.

14. *Ye shall be remembered.* Here God promised the Jews success, when they went to war against those that oppressed them; would not the same principles of his government lead him to favor the oppressed in this land, in an attempt to gain their freedom? At the same time, no Christian, who is opposed to slavery, would, or could for one moment, either propose or encourage such an attempt, otherwise than in the use of moral means. The true friends of the enslaved in this land, do not believe it would be right for the oppressed to use any violence, (not even the whips with which their own

backs have been so often lacerated) for the purpose of obtaining their rights. Yet, should the slaves ever attempt this by any means, says the immortal Jefferson, "The Almighty has no attribute which could take sides with us in such a contest."

15. *Thou shalt not steal.* This commandment would certainly have prevented all slave-holding among the Jews, had it not been for the express permission of God; just the same as the command which says, *Thou shalt not kill*, would have prevented the nearest of kin, among the Jews, from killing the murderer of his friend, without a process at law, if God had not given them his permission to do this.

Now, here is a man who holds in his possession the liberty of one of his species; it is the liberty of a slave, who was born in his own house; this slave never gave this master his liberty, he never sold it to him, nor has he ever forfeited it by crime, but yet the master has got it in his possession, and he holds it fast. How came this master by the liberty of this man? He never bought it of the slave, and the slave could not have sold it, if he would; nor has he bought it of a third person, for it never was possessed by a third person. How came he by it, if he did not steal it? We know indeed, it may be said, that the laws gave the master a title to this man's liberty; but who made those laws? Why, slave-holders, to be sure! And where did slave-holders obtain their authority to make laws, which controvene the law of the infinite God, which says, *Thou shalt not steal?* The truth is, they have no such authority, they never had, and they never can have; and hence every man who holds the person of a human being as his *property*, does so in violation of the eighth commandment, which says, *Thou shalt not steal!*

But suppose again, that the liberty of this slave is sold to a third person; is the man's title to the liberty of this enslaved human being any better than his who sells it? Does not the purchaser know, as every man in this nation knows, that this

man has been robbed of his liberty, — that he never has been, and that he never can be paid an equivalent for it? And yet, he buys and holds in his possession that which he knows has been stolen, and to which he cannot have, in the nature of things, any just title! Now let the reader suppose a case, if he can, of one slave in this land whose liberty has not been stolen, and which is not now withheld by an act of fraud and theft, similar to that stated above.

Neither shalt thou covet anything that is thy neighbor's. And how can one withhold from his neighbor, his *personal* LIBERTY, his *wife*, his *children*, and *keep back the fruit of his labor*, and not break this command of God? And yet, I once heard this very precept quoted in the Theological Seminary at Andover, to prove that slavery must continue to exist to the end of time, or this commandment, it was supposed, could not be fulfilled! So persecution must continue to the end of the world, or Christians cannot have the privilege of praying for their persecutors! And human intelligencies must always continue in a course of sin, or the Deity will not have the glory of forgiving them!

18. *And it be sin unto thee.* And think you not, reader, that there are a few Christian enslavers in this land who need to have these and the foregoing cautions repeated in their hearing? Mark how strictly the Jews were commanded to remember and *pity* the *poor*, the *fatherless*, and *widows;* and give them sufficient for their need, in that which they might want for their souls and their bodies. And is the great God less merciful, less just, less jealous now, for the welfare of the *poor slave?*

19. *Thou shalt surely give him, — and thy heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him.* We not unfrequently hear of the liberal gifts which many enslavers bestow for the advancement of some particular objects; but

how seldom does ever one slave have his liberty restored to him, and how seldom do any of them receive anything like a just equivalent for their toils and labors! If we request those who have grown rich and fed upon the slave's unrequited labor ever since they were born, to restore to the injured slave his rights, without even making any *gift* to him at all, their hearts are "grieved" at once, and we are told that we are only rendering the slave's condition worse than it was before, by making such a request!

21. *Thou shalt not let him go away empty.* This was a matter of *justice.* From this and the following passages, it appears that in six years a servant among the Hebrews brought a sufficient profit to his master to pay him double for his freedom, and to furnish himself with grain and stock to begin to labor for his own support. How will the conduct of the slave-masters in this land, who refuse ever to let their servants go free at all, and who perpetually withhold from them all remuneration for their labors, compare with this law?

"Here we see that a poor man might be brought into such a state of embarrassment that he could not pay his debts, and he was allowed to sell himself for six years. It is not said that the creditor had authority to sell him. But it was a mutual contract, by which the debtor bound himself. And so careful is this precious law of God of human liberty, that it would not allow a man to bind or sell himself for more than six years. And when the term of service was out they were not to be sent out empty, as if their liberty was grudged. And if a man liked to remain in his place, he could be bound to serve for a longer term; in which case he was to be taken before a magistrate, to see that no undue advantage was taken, and then have his ear bored, as a token that he was a servant "forever." But this does not mean perpetual slavery. The word translated *forever* means throughout the term; that is,

whatever may be the subject of discourse, the word means, throughout its continuance. In this case there was a universal rule that no servitude could lawfully continue beyond the year of jubilee. The man that had his ear bored was, therefore, bound to remain in his place till the jubilee, when liberty was proclaimed to all, without exception.

"In order to understand the subject, it is necessary to consider the very peculiar structure of society in the Hebrew commonwealth. The land was all in the hands of a few persons, each one of whom was the head of his family or clan. When he died, his eldest son inherited all the real estate. The younger sons, and the descendants of younger sons, not having land, were obliged to seek such employment as the various departments of society require. This elder son was the person to whom the right of redemption belonged, the *goel* kinsman, or redeemer. He was also the head of the family, and all his brethren being employed under him, were his servants. These common people were provided for by the sabbatical year, when they all became free. But for the landholder himself, if he was reduced to the necessity of alienating his land, and for the strangers or foreigners who were bound to service, the jubilee was provided. If the landholder was poor, and obliged to sell his land, he had a right to redeem it. But at any rate, in the fiftieth year it would revert to the family, of course If he had become so dependant as to be obliged himself to become a servant, he was not to be treated as a common laborer, but with respect, because he was a type of the Messiah, or glorious elder Brother. This was the distinction between the common Israelites and the landholders who became poor, and were employed as servants.

"There was another class of servants among the Israelites; that is, the heathen, *strangers* as they were called, who came into the nation for employment. And the law encour-

aged their coming in. They never could be landholders, but they might be employed, and they enjoyed not only protection, but the advantages of God's house, religious instruction, &c. Under this idea it is that Isaiah says, in reference to a period of great prosperity, 'Strangers shall stand and feed your flocks, and the sons of the alien shall be your ploughmen and your vine dressers.' — Isaiah lxi, 5." — [*Rev. James H. Dickey.*]

24. *Thou shalt not deliver unto his master, &c.* This is supposed to refer to the case of a servant who had fled from an idolatrous master, and gone over to the children of Israel; if so, admitting the justice of the present system of slavery, would there not be precisely as much propriety in applying this passage to the cases of those slaves who now run away from their wicked and cruel masters, as there is in quoting other passages of Scripture to justify this system of slavery?

25. *That thief shall die.* Many thousands of the people of color who are legally free in this land, have been stolen, kidnapped, and sold into interminable and hopeless bondage; and there is abundance of evidence which may be relied on to prove that scores of such are stolen and sold into slavery in this country every year, besides the two hundred, or more, who are seized and made slaves of, every day, as soon as they are born. How will this law apply to these facts?

27. *Thou shalt remember that thou wast a bond-man in Egypt.* And how can Americans forget the bondage which they once suffered, and from which they fought and bled to be free? Well has Jefferson exclaimed, — "What an incomprehensible machine is man! who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and death itself, in vindication of his own liberty, and the next moment be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow-men a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery, than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose."

"But," adds this truly great man, "We must wait with patience the workings of an overruling Providence, and hope that, that is preparing the deliverance of these our suffering brethren. When the measure of their tears shall be full, when their groans shall have involved Heaven itself it darkness—doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress, and by diffusing light and liberality among their *oppressors*, or at length by his exterminating thunder, manifest his attention to the things of this world, and that they are not left to the guidance of a blind fatality."

Upon a careful examination of the foregoing scriptures, we come to the following conclusions in respect to the servitude allowed among the Jews, and its difference from American slavery:

1. The Hebrews held some in servitude for a limited period, by the special *permission* and direction of God; and this permission was given on the very same ground that a Hebrew was permitted to kill a man who had murdered his friend, (Num. xxxv, 19,) and he might do this without the process of a trial. And upon the same ground, the Jews were permitted to commence and carry on exterminating wars against the idolatrous nations around them. Hence we suppose that it is as really wrong for any man in this age of the world, to take away the liberty of his innocent neighbor, or to hold it from him in any way, without an express permission from God, as it would be for one to kill the murderer of his friend now, without the forms of law.

2. Two-thirds of all the servants in Israel were free at the end of six years; and the fiftieth year all were set free. There was no such thing as hereditary servitude among the Jews.

But American slavery is perpetual, to the very last moment of the slave's earthly existence, and by law it is entailed upon all of his descendants to the latest posterity.

3. Jewish servitude was voluntary, except in those cases where it was the penalty annexed to crime.

But American slavery is involuntary. No one who is now a slave in this land, was ever consulted, before his liberty was taken away, whether he would be a slave or not; and if he had been, he could not have given his master a just and proper title to his body as his property.

4. Under the Mosaic economy, servants might contend with their masters about their rights; and to despise the cause of such was considered a heinous crime. (See Job xxxi, 13.)

But here, in this land of Christians, slaves can make no contracts of any kind; they can have no legal right to any property; all they have and are, belongs to their masters.

5. The laws of Moses granted freedom to a servant who had been cruelly treated. (See Ex. xxii, 26—27.)

But our Christian laws allow the master to punish his slave, as much as he desires, and afford the slave no redress; nay, if the slave makes any resistance, the laws expressly justify the master in *putting him to death*. In Kentucky, "any negro, mulatto, or *Indian*, bond or free," who "shall at any time" even "*lift his hand* in opposition to ANY *white person*, shall receive THIRTY LASHES on his or her *bare back*, WELL LAID ON, by order of the Justice."

6. Servants were carefully protected among the Jews, in their domestic relations; so that husbands and wives, parents and their children must not be separated. And in case the mother did not get her freedom as soon as her husband, the children remained with her; and her master was bound to receive him to service again, in case he chose to live with his wife and children.

But here, slaves are entirely unprotected in their social and domestic relations; husbands and their wives, parents

and their children may be, and they are separated and parted forever, at the irresponsible will of the master.

7. The laws of Moses secured to servants the necessary means of instruction and consolation.

But no such laws exist in this land; here the operation of the laws tends directly to deprive the slaves of all "mental" and religious "instruction," for their whole power is exerted to keep their slaves in the lowest kind of ignorance.

8. The laws of Moses require every one to pity and love the stranger who might chance to come among the Jews, and under severe penalties they were forbidden to vex or oppress them in any way.

Here, the laws view every colored stranger as an enemy, and they consider him a slave until he proves his freedom.

9. If a servant escaped from his master and fled to the land of Israel, the law of Moses commanded every one to protect him; and forbade any one to deliver such to his master again.

But here, if a slave escape from his master, and flee to any part of the United States, the law forbids any one to protect him, and commands that he be delivered up to his master.

10. The Mosaic law forbade man-stealing as the highest kind of theft, and condemned the perpetrator to suffer death as the penalty.

But here, thousands of legally free people of color have been stolen, and sold into hopeless and involuntary servitude, as many now are every year, in this nation; and there is no law by which they can redress their wrongs.

CHAPTER IV.

JOSHUA, JOB, AND EZRA.

God has always delivered his people from the oppression of their enemies, when they cried unto Him for deliverance.

1. And when the LORD raised them up judges, then the LORD was with the judge, and delivered them out of the hand of their enemies all the days of the judge: for it repented the LORD because of their groanings by reason of them that oppressed them and vexed them. Jud. ii, 18.

2. Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, I brought you up from Egypt, and brought you forth out of the house of bondage; and I delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians, and out of the hand of all that oppressed you, and drove them out from before you and gave you their land. Jud. vi, 8.

3. And Zidonians also and the Amalekites and the Maonites did oppress you; and ye cried to me, and I delivered you out of their hand. Jud. x, 12.

4. Now therefore ye are cursed, and there shall none of you be freed from being bondmen, and hew-

ers of wood and drawers of water, for the house of my God. Josh. ix, 23.

5. There the wicked cease from troubling, and there the weary be at rest. There the prisoners rest together; they hear not the voice of the oppressor. The small and the great are there; and the servant is free from his master. Job, iii, 17.

6. To him that is afflicted, pity should be showed from his friend. Job, vi, 14.

7. The wicked man travaileth in pain all his days, and the number of days is hidden to the oppressor. A dreadful sound is in his ears; in prosperity the destroyer shall come upon him. Job, xv, 20.

8. Because he hath oppressed and hath forsaken the poor; because he hath violently taken away an house which he builded not, surely he shall not feel quietness in his belly; he shall not save of that which he desired. Job, xx, 19.

9. This is the portion of a wicked man with God, and the heritage of oppressors, which they shall receive of the Almighty. Job, xxvii, 13.

10. When the ear heard me then it blessed me, and when the eye saw me, it gave witness to me; because I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me: and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy. Job, xxix, 11.

11. I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame. I was a father to the poor; and the cause which I knew not, I searched out. Job, xxix, 15.

12. If I did dispise the cause of my man-servant, or of my maid-servant, when they contended with me; what then shall I do when God riseth up? And when he visiteth, what shall I answer him? Job xxxi, 13.

13. If I have withheld the poor from their desire, or have caused the eyes of the widow to fail; or have eaten my morsel myself alone, and the fatherless hath not eaten thereof; if I have seen any perish for want of clothing, or any poor without covering, if his loins have not blessed me, and if he were not warmed with the fleece of my sheep; if I have lifted up my hand against the fatherless, when I saw my help in the gate; then let mine arm fall from my shoulder-blade, and mine arm be broken from the bone. Job, xxxi, 16.

14. By reason of the multitude of oppressions, they make the oppressed to cry; they cry out by reason of the arm of the mighty. Job, xxxv, 9.

15. He delivereth the poor in his affliction, and openeth their ears in oppression. Job, xxxvi, 15.

16. And now for a little space grace hath been showed from the Lord our God, to leave us a remnant to escape, and to give us a nail in his holy place, that our God may lighten our eyes, and give us a little reviving in our bondage. Ezra, ix, 8.

NOTES ON CHAPTER IV.

1 *Them that oppressed them.* The Jews were delivered into the hands of their enemies, not unfrequently, as a chastisement for their sins; yet, even in these cases, God regarded their groanings, and when they cried unto him, he saved them from the power of their oppressors. But the bondage which the slaves of this land are now suffering, is not a punishment for any sin which they can have committed; they are guilty of no crime either against God or man, for which they are now enslaved; and hence there is so much the more reason to believe, that when they cry unto the great avenger of wrongs, he will hear and deliver them.

2. *And gave you their land.* And will not this language apply, with some degree of propriety, to the people of this nation? Have we not been delivered from the hand of the oppressor? Do we not now inherit the land that once belonged to others? And shall we now, in our turn, become the *oppressors* of the poor and defenceless? It is a remarkable fact, that this nation does now oppress a greater number of its own citizens, by the system of slavery which it upholds, than the whole number of our forefathers who were oppressed formerly by the government of Great Britain! Yes, a greater number of the citizens of these United States are now far more cruelly oppressed by our own government, than our ancestors were, who rose in rebellion sixty years ago against the government of England; and one hour of that bondage which we now inflict on three millions of our own citizens, as Jefferson remarks, is fraught with more misery and guilt, than ages of that which we rose in rebellion to oppose!

3. *Ye cried to me, and I delivered you.* The oppression

here referred to, as remarked above, was what the Jews suffered as a chastisement for their sins; and yet God delivered them from it, as soon as they repented and cried unto him. And is it presumption in us to infer that God will now deliver the oppressed in answer to prayer, and especially such as have not sinned against him? Will not God hear his own people, who cry day and night unto him, in the behalf of those that are in bonds, and who have committed no crime?

4. *Ye are cursed.* This, as the reader will have perceived, refers to the Gibeonites; they were among the nations whom the Hebrews were commanded utterly to destroy for their idolatry. Deut. xx, 17. But by stratagems and lies, they so deceived Joshua that he entered into a covenant with them, and gave them a solemn oath that they should be spared. For this wicked deception, this curse was pronounced upon them, by which their national existence was annihilated. The state of servitude to which these idolaters were reduced was a blessing to them, because without it they must have been put to death. And has God ever given a command to any of the people of this country to commence a war of extermination against Africa, and to make slaves of all who are not put to death?

5. *The servant is free from his master.* How often the weary, worn-out slaves look to the grave as the place of their rest; and how many thousands of them must, in all probability, die without any well grounded hope of rest beyond it!

"Let sorrow bathe each blushing cheek,
Bend piteous o'er the tortured slave,
Whose wrongs compassion cannot speak,
Whose only refuge is the grave."

6. *Pity should be shown.* But let a white man or woman at the South manifest the least pity for the afflicted slaves, and it will be sure to bring down upon himself the scorn and contempt of most of their "masters" and "drivers."

7. *A dreadful sound is in his ears.* Or as the margin reads, a *sound of fear* is in his ears. This is said of the oppressor; and a more striking illustration of this truth could not well be given, perhaps, than that made in a speech delivered in the house of delegates of Virginia, in January, 1832, on the policy of the State with regard to her slave population, by James McDowell, Jr.

One of the members of the house had remarked, that the insurrection at Southampton, when scores of the whites had been murdered by the slaves, was a "petty affair;" upon which Mr. McDowell read extracts from a number of letters written by some of the most respectable men in the State, to show the terror and dismay which prevailed in the minds of the citizens in every part of the community, and then proceeded as follows:—

"Now, sir, I ask you, I ask gentlemen in conscience to say, was this a 'petty affair?' I ask you whether that was a 'petty affair,' which startled the feelings of your whole population—which threw a portion of it into alarm—a portion of it into panic; which wrung out from an affrighted people the thrilling cry, day after day conveyed to your executive, 'We are in peril of our lives—send us an army for defence.' Was that a 'petty affair' which drove families from their homes? which assembled women and children in crowds, and without shelter, at places of common refuge, in every condition of weakness and infirmity, under every suffering which want, and pain, and terror could inflict, yet willing to endure all—willing to meet death from famine, death from climate, death from hardships, preferring anything rather than the horrors of meeting it from a domestic assassin? Was that a 'petty affair' which erected a peaceful and confiding portion of the State into a military camp, which outlawed from pity the unfortunate beings whose brothers had offended, which barred every door, penetrated

every bosom with fear or suspicion, which so banished every sense of security from every man's dwelling, that let but a hoof or a horn break upon the silence of the night, and an aching throb would be driven to the heart; the husband would look to his weapon, and the mother would shudder and weep upon her cradle!

"Was it the fear of Nat Turner, and his deluded drunken handfull of fellows, which produced such effects? Was it this that induced distant countries, where the very name of Southampton was strange, to arm and equip for a struggle? No, sir, it was the *suspicion* eternally attached to the slave himself — the *suspicion* that a Nat Turner might be in every family; that the same bloody deed could be acted over at any time and in any place; that the materials for it were spread through the land and always ready for a like explosion. Nothing but the force of this *withering apprehension*, nothing but the paralyzing and deadening weight, with which it falls upon and prostrates the heart of every man who has helpless dependents to protect, nothing but this could have thrown a brave people into consternation, or could have made any portion of this powerful Commonwealth, for a single instant, to have quailed and trembled."

Yes, it is the "withering apprehension" which every slave-holder in this land carries in his own conscience, that the slaves have been *outraged*, *insulted*, and *wronged*, which makes *the sound of fear in his ears*.

8. *He shall not feel guiltless.* How true it is that no enslaver in this land *feels guiltless*, every person at all acquainted with the subject of slavery well knows. The remarks of Mr. McDowell show that a general sense of danger and insecurity everywhere prevails to a great extent in the slave States. Hence the enslavers often go armed, and keep their arms constantly about their beds at night, for fear the

slaves may rise and take vengeance upon those who have oppressed them.

9. *They shall receive of the Almighty.* The evils described in the following verses, by the direction of God sometimes come upon tyrants and such as oppress their fellow men.

10. *The blessing of him that was ready to perish.* And how very desirable is such a blessing! How much to be preferred before honors, or silver, or gold, or all that this world can afford! And let every friend of the oppressed pray that it may come upon all the slave-holders in this, and every other part of the world!

11. *The cause which I knew not, I searched out.* I spared neither time nor pains to find out the condition of the oppressed and afflicted, that I might afford them all possible relief. And is it not likely that some of Job's contemporaries reproached him with "meddling with that which did not concern him?"

12. *If I did despise the cause of my servant.* As though he had said:—I have not denied my servants any privilege, whether civil or religious, which I enjoyed myself; if they had any cause of complaint against any one, or even against myself, I gave them a candid and impartial hearing, and rendered a just judgment in the case. Can the Christian enslavers of this land say this, now, of themselves? And what will they do when God riseth up, if they have not done this?

13. *Then let mine arm fall from my shoulder-blade.* This is a most solemn asservation, that he never had wronged or oppressed the poor in any way, but that he had always administered to the wants of such, as far as it had been in his power. O that all who profess the Christian name could now say this with as much truth as it was said by this ancient patriarch!

14. *They cry out by reason of the arm of the mighty.* The Rev. Mr. Gilgrass, one of the Wesleyan Missionaries in the West-Indies, relates the following fact: "A master who lived near us in Kingston, Jamaica, wanted some money: and one of his female slaves having two fine children, he sold one of them, and the child was torn from her maternal affection. In the agony of her feelings, she made a hideous *howling*, and for that crime was flogged. Soon after, he sold her other child. This 'turned her heart within her,' and impelled her into a kind of madness. She howled night and day in the yard, tore her hair, ran up and down the streets and the parade, rending the heavens with her *cries*, and literally watering the earth with her tears. Her constant cry was, '*Da wicked massa Jew, he sell me children. Will no buckra massa pity nega? What me do? Me have no child.*' As she stood before my window, she lifted up her hands towards Heaven and said: — '*My massa, do me massa minister pity me! Me heart do so,* (shaking herself violently) *me heart do so because me have no child; me go a massa house, in massa yard, and in me hut, and me no see em!*'"

15. *He openeth their ears in oppression.* He gives them instruction and comfort, notwithstanding their chains, when they look unto God for it. The Infinite Being is the great author and patron of *science*, nor can there scarcely be a more flagrant sin against Him, than to prevent the *instruction* of the IMMORTAL MINDS whom He has made, and which he has endowed with a deathless capacity, and an insatiable thirst for the lights of science and religion.

And yet, in this *republican*, this *Christian* land, we have numerous laws made and sanctioned with the heaviest penalties which it is in the power of human governments to inflict, for the very purpose of putting out the eyes of the mind, for the very purpose of preventing the instruction of millions of

the citizens of these free and independent States! In view of this *one* appalling fact, what American will not "tremble for his country, when he reflects that God is just!"

CHAPTER V.

DAVID.

God has always manifested a peculiar pity and regard for the oppressed — and he promises his blessing upon all such as imitate Him in this thing.

1. LORD, thou hast heard the desire of the humble: thou wilt prepare their heart, thou wilt cause thine ear to hear; to judge the fatherless and the oppressed, that the men of the earth may no more oppress. Ps. x, 17.

2. When he maketh inquisition for blood, he remembereth them; he forgetteth not the cry of the humble. Ps. ix, 12.

3. For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the LORD; I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him. Ps. xii, 5.

4. For he hath not despised nor abhorred the affliction of the afflicted, neither hath he hid his face from him; but when he cried unto him he heard. Ps. xxii, 24.

5. Blessed is he that considereth the poor; the LORD will deliver him in time of trouble. The LORD will preserve him, and keep him alive; and he shall be blessed upon the earth; and thou wilt not deliver him unto the will of his enemies. The LORD will strengthen him upon the bed of languishing; thou wilt make up all his bed in his sickness. Ps. xli, 1.

6. The LORD will command his loving kindness in the day time, and in the night his song shall be with me, and my prayer unto the God of my life. I will say unto God my rock, Why hast thou forgotten me? Why go I mourning because of the oppression of the enemy? Ps. xlii, 8.

7. But unto the wicked, God saith, What hast thou to do, to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldst take my covenant in thy mouth? seeing thou hatest instruction, and castest my words behind thee. When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him, and hast been partaker with adulterers. Ps. l, 16.

8. Give the king thy judgments, O God, and thy righteousness unto the king's son. He shall judge the poor of the people, he shall save the children of

the needy, and shall break in pieces the oppressor. Ps. lxxii, 1.

9. For he shall deliver the needy when he crieth; the poor also, and him that hath no helper. He shall spare the poor and needy, and shall save the souls of the needy. He shall redeem their soul from deceit and violence; and precious shall their blood be in his sight. Ps. lxxii, 12.

10. Defend the poor and fatherless; do justice to the afflicted and needy. Deliver the poor and needy; rid them out of the hand of the wicked. Ps. lxxxii, 3.

11. Blessed is the people that know the joyful sound; they shall walk, O LORD, in the light of thy countenance; in thy name shall they rejoice all the day; and in thy righteousness shall they be exalted. Ps. lxxxix, 15.

12. The LORD executeth righteousness and judgment for all that are oppressed. Ps. ciii, 6.

13. Deliver me from the oppression of man, so will I keep thy precepts. Ps. cxix, 134.

14. I know that the LORD will maintain the cause of the afflicted, and the right of the poor. Ps. cxl, 12.

15. The LORD looseth the prisoners; the LORD openeth the eyes of the blind; the LORD raiseth them that are bowed down; the LORD loveth the righteous; the LORD preserveth the strangers; he relieveth the fatherless and widow; but the way of the wicked he turneth upside down. Ps. cxlvi, 7.

NOTES ON CHAPTER V.

1. *Thou wilt prepare their heart.* Thou wilt give them a disposition to seek after thee. So the great and good Being often sheds light upon the dark mind of the poor slave, who is oppressed, notwithstanding the unjust and cruel laws which are enacted to keep him in darkness. And when the heart of the afflicted is thus prepared, God hears the prayer which they offer unto Him.

2. *He forgetteth not the cry of the humble.* Let no one be discouraged in praying for the deliverance and salvation of the enslaved; God may seem not to hear for awhile, but the prayer of faith shall not be forgotten, it shall be answered in due time. God remembers not only the oppressed, but also those who make inquisition for their blood. The following account of some of the bloody inquisitions of this land, is from the pen of Dr. J. Torry, of Philadelphia. He says:

"Thomas Clarkson states, in his 'History of the Abolition of the Slave-Trade,' that the arrival of slave-ships on the coasts of Africa, was the uniform signal for the immediate commencement of wars for the attainment of prisoners, for sale and exportation to America and the West-Indies. In Maryland and Delaware, the same drama is now performed in miniature. The arrival of the *Man-Trafficers*, laden with cash, at their respective stations near the coasts, or at their several inland posts, near the dividing line of Maryland and Delaware, (at some of which they have great prisons for the purpose) is the well known signal for the professed *kidnappers*, like beasts of prey, to commence their nightly invasions upon the fleecy flocks; extending their ravages, (generally attended with bloodshed and sometimes with murder,) and spreading

terror and consternation, among both freemen and slaves, throughout the sandy regions, from the western to the eastern shores. These *blood-hounds*, when overtaken, which is rare, by the messengers of the law, are generally found armed with instruments of death, sometimes with pistols with patent spring daggers attached to them." In this way thousands of innocent unoffending men, women and children, have been stolen and carried from their friends and homes in this land of boasted freedom, and themselves and posterity doomed to suffer all the horrors of an unending bondage.

3. *Now will I arise, saith the Lord.*

With such promises as these, the Bible abounds; and as sure as God is true, so surely he will yet undertake for the oppressed. At the same time, we should keep in view his long-suffering and patience towards the oppressor; He pities these also, and commands them to repent, and it becomes our duty to pity them, and pray for them accordingly.

4. *He hath not despised — the affliction of the afflicted.*

The poor and the afflicted are generally despised by those who are the cause of the evils which they suffer; but the affliction of the oppressed is not despised by the Great God.

5. *Considereth the poor.*

By finding out their condition, visiting them, and administering to their wants. As a most remarkable example of this kind, let the reader consult the life of John Howard, and he will perceive how strictly the promise was fulfilled, which is made here to those who perform this heavenly work.

6. *Why hast thou forgotten me?*

This inquiry the Psalmist was sometimes led to make when he was in trouble; and when we reflect for a moment upon the accumulated wrongs which millions of the population of this country are doomed to suffer by the slave-system, can we wonder that some of them should adopt this language? Is it

a marvellous thing, that many of them should be tempted to think that there is no God of justice?—That their masters, who profess to love him and their fellow men as themselves, are hypocrites?

7. *Thou consentedst with him.*

And by what process of reasoning can it be shown that every slaveholder in this land does not, in some sense, countenance the conduct of the adulterer and the man-thief? The man who makes a habit of using intoxicating liquors, even if it be ever so temperately, is now set down by the voice of nearly the whole Christian world, as countenancing and promoting the cause of intemperance; and if he be a professed Christian or Christian minister, his example is believed and known to be so much the more pernicious and fatal in its influence. For who does not know that the unprincipled, intemperate rum-drinker, does invariably refer to the habit of the very good Christian who uses the liquid poison, as a sufficient justification of his intemperance?

And the more good which may be said of such a professing Christian, in some respects, the more dependence will be placed, by the intemperate, upon his example. And it is precisely so of the very *kind* and *Christian enslavers* of the human species; they do the very same to perpetuate the crime and the evils of slaveholding, which the respectable and Christian rum-drinker, or the Christian distiller, does, to perpetuate the evils of intemperance. And it is remarkable, that the most conclusive argument which can be adduced at the present day in favor of slaveholding under any circumstances, is the fact, that both *Christians* and *Christian ministers*, nay, some of the most *kind* and *respectable* people at the South and West are SLAVEHOLDERS!!! Now can any candid observer fail of seeing that these very *respectable*, *kind*, and *Christian* ENSLAVERS *of the human species*, stand just as

much in the way of the final abolition of slavery, and the domestic slave-trade in this country, as the *respectable* and *Christian* DISTILLERS and RUM-DRINKERS do in the way of the temperance reformation?

How frequently the opposers of slavery are now tauntingly asked, "why do you not send your agents to the South, where slavery exists?" We answer, for the very same reason that temperance agents do not spend their strength in preaching to the *intemperate*. We know that all successful action in the anti-slavery cause, as well as in the temperance cause, must be carried on by those who are not "partakers with" such as commit the evils which it is intended to remove.

8. *He shall break in pieces the oppressor.*

This is said of Christ; and so far as Christianity has prevailed in other civilized countries, it has already annihilated slavery, and broken the iron arm of the oppressor.

10. *Deliver the poor.*

We shall see in the course of these chapters, that there are as many commands in the Bible to a third person to deliver the oppressed out of the hand of the oppresser as there are commands to the oppressor to let the oppressed go free.

11. *The joyful sound.*

The sound of the trumpet, on the morning of the first day of the jubilee. *Then shalt thou cause the trumpet of the jubilee to sound on the tenth day of the seventh month; on the day of atonement, shall ye make the trumpet to sound throughout all your land. And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto* ALL THE INHABITANTS *thereof; it shall be a jubilee unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family.* Lev. xxv, 9. Hence it appears, that on the arrival of this joyful day, *all the inhabitants* of the land of Judea

were *free*, and every one received again his forfeited or lost possessions.

13. *So will I keep thy precepts.*

Hence the sin of *oppression;* it incapacitates the oppressed from obeying all the precepts of God. How can those females in this land fulfill, or how may they be expected to fulfill, all of God's commands, when they are not permitted to read them, and when they have no protection, either in the laws or in public sentiment, for their purity or persons? They may be compelled to submit to the beastly lusts of any white man, by the stroke of the cowhide, or to avoid death, without the possibility of any redress! How can those slaves who are husbands, (in the sight of God,) and who are fathers also, fulfill that command which makes it their duty to love their wives, and provide for their families, when they are torn from their wives and children, and sold into a distant part of the country? The command of God makes it their duty to bring up their children "in the knowledge and discipline of God," but they are not suffered either to read the Bible themselves, or to teach their children to read it! God commands all children to honor their parents, and obey them in the Lord, but the children of more than a million of parents in this land, are prohibited, and *hindered* from doing this, by the laws of the States where they live; and the same laws prohibit all colored persons, whether slaves or free, from worshipping God according to the dictates of their own consciences. The statutes of Virginia ordain that any free person of color, whether ordained or not, for preaching or exhorting at any religious meeting, may be seized by any person *without a warrant*, and punished with *thirty-nine lashes;* and any free person of color attending such a meeting may be seized and punished in a like manner. Similar laws are in force in the other slave States; so true it is, that civil and religious liberty generally stand or fall together.

CHAPTER VI.

SOLOMON.

God has threatened his displeasure against all such as forbear to deliver the poor and the needy from the hands of those who oppress them.

1. The poor is hated even of his own neighbor; but the rich hath many friends. He that despiseth his neighbor, sinneth; but he that hath mercy on the poor, happy is he. Prov. iv, 20.

2. He that oppresseth the poor, reproacheth his maker; but he that honoreth him hath mercy on the poor. Prov. xiv, 31.

3. He that oppresseth the poor to increase his riches, and he that giveth to the rich shall surely come to want. Prov. xxii, 16.

4. Rob not the poor, because he is poor; neither oppress the afflicted in the gate; for the Lord will plead their cause, and spoil the soul of those that spoiled them. Prov. xxiii, 22.

5. Remove not the old landmark; and enter not into the fields of the fatherless; for their Redeemer is mighty; he shall plead their cause with thee. Prov. xxii, 20.

6. If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain; if thou sayest, Behold we knew it not; doth not he that pondereth the heart consider it? and he that keepeth thy soul, doth he not know it? and shall not he render to every man according to his works? Prov. xxiv, 11.

7. The righteous considereth the cause of the poor; but the wicked regardeth not to know it. Prov. xxix, 7.

8. Open thy mouth for the dumb, in the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction. Open thy mouth, judge righteously, and plead the cause of the poor and needy. Prov. xxxi, 8.

9. So I returned and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun; and, behold, the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the side of their oppressors there was power; but they had no comforter. Eccl. iv, 1.

10. If thou seest the oppression of the poor, and violent perverting of judgment and justice in a province, marvel not at the matter; for he that is higher than the highest regardeth, and there be higher than they. Eccl. v, 8.

11. Surely oppression maketh a wise man mad; and a gift destroyeth the heart. Eccl. vii, 7.

12. All the brethren of the poor do hate him; how

much more do his friends go far from him; he pursueth them with words, yet they are wanting to him. Prov. xix, 7.

13. Better is a little with righteousness, than great revenues without right. Prov. xvi. 8

NOTES ON CHAPTER VI.

1. *Hated even of his own neighbor.*

Are not the enslavers of this land the *neighbors* of those whom they enslave? Are they not indebted to the slaves for their living, and in fact, generally all the substance they possess? And yet who hates the slave and the race of which they form a part, if the enslavers do not?

He that despiseth his neighbor, sinneth.

Hence it is clearly proved, that to indulge any kind of *prejudice* against one who has committed no crime, merely because he is poor, or differs from us in complexion, is a sin against God; and this sin becomes the more aggravating as it deprives him of any of the rights or privileges to which he is entitled by the dictates of reason and religion.

2. *Reproacheth his Maker.*

The poor are Christ's representatives on earth; and if it is a sin against God to despise and oppress one who is poor in the ordinary course of Providence, or one who has become so through some unavoidable calamity, how much more wicked must it be to *make men poor* by *oppressing* them? Surely, if it is a sin and a reproach against God to oppress such as are already poor, it must be a greater sin, and more of an insult to the infinite Being, to make men poor, and to enact laws and enforce them, for the very purpose of keeping them not only poor but degraded and ignorant.

3. *To increase his riches.*

And for what other purpose are the poor slaves oppressed and kept in bondage, but to increase their masters' riches? But it is really difficult for one who never was "a broker in the trade of blood," to determine how any man, especially how any Christian, can enjoy the riches which he knows were earned by others, under the stroke of the cart-whip, perhaps, and by those, too, who were never paid one penny as an equivalent for their labors!

4. *Because he is poor.*

It is because the slaves are poor, and unable to assert and defend their rights, that their masters compel them to labor, and then take the fruits of their unrequited toil. This, God calls *robbing them because they are poor;* and shall we call it by any other name?

Neither oppress the afflicted in the gate.

Courts of justice were usually held in the gates of cities in the east; hence, the text means that the poor and afflicted should have a fair and impartial hearing when they appeared at the court for judgment in any case.

In twelve of these United States, no person of color, whether male or female, can be heard as an evidence in a court of justice, against a white person. And another law, which is general among the slave States, prevents the slave or any person for him, from commencing a suit at law, in certain cases, unless he first give security for the costs of court; and if the action should be tried and should fail, the costs are *doubled!* If this be not *oppressing the poor in the gate*, reader, what is?

Here is a "master," who, for some slight offence, strikes the child of a slave in the presence of fifty other persons of color who are slaves, and who see the "master" inflict the blow which causes the instant death of the child. But for the

parents who look on and see their offspring gasp in death, there is *no redress;* the deed not being witnessed by any white person, it is passed over in silence, and so, indeed, such atrocities often are, when they occur under the eye of the whites. A slave may be compelled to see the person of his daughter or wife abused, as they often are, without being suffered to speak one word, or to move a finger in their defence. And will not the Great God plead the cause of such?

5. *He shall plead their cause.*

The slavery system now has many excuses and apologies made for it; but there is not one among them all, but which any Christian would be ashamed to make at the judgment of the great day. But when God pleads the cause of the oppressed, who will answer him, then?

6. *We knew it not.*

And how many thousands say thus at the present day, in reference to the slaves of this land who are drawn unto death. "We are not enslavers,—we know not what the condition of the slave is—we don't live at the south—what have we to do with the subject?" Answer,—

1. If we do not know what the moral and political condition of nearly three million of slaves is, in this land, we are in fault, because, we may know, and we ought to know; nor indeed, will God consider it a sufficient excuse for the neglect of our duty when we say, *we knew it not.*

2. If we are not enslavers ourselves, we are *partakers of the sins* of those who are slaveholders, unless we set our faces against it, and use our utmost Christian-like endeavors to deliver the enslaved.

3. Our not living at the South, or indeed in America, is not a sufficient reason why we should do nothing to deliver those that are *ready to be slain* in this country. We do not live in Africa, and shall we do nothing to Christianize and civilize

that country on this account? Though, by the way, it is acknowledged, that before we can do anything *consistently*, as a *Christian* people, for that nation, we should liberate her children whom we now keep in *chains*, and give them the Bible, and all the other blessings which Christianity is designed to confer upon the world.

7. *Regardeth not to know it.*

How truly characteristic this is of many, very many, Christian ministers and rulers in this nation, with regard to the wrongs of the poor slaves! They would be glad not to know them; they feel so much reluctance against saying or doing anything upon the subject. And who would not like to be ignorant upon this subject, if his ignorance would annihilate slavery from the nation and from the world?

8. *Open thy mouth for the dumb.*

The slaves of this land are *dumb*, in a most affecting sense, inasmuch as they never have been, and are not now permitted to speak for themselves; and how can any Christian or Christian minister, neglect the duty which God here enjoins upon him in relation to these human beings! And this, too, when he knows that they are made and kept *poor* and *needy* by the bondage which they are violently compelled to endure!

9. *I considered all the oppressions.*

The Hebrew *ashakim*, here rendered *oppressions*, signifies all those kinds of *injustice* or *injury* which one can suffer in his *person*, *property* or *character*. To withhold from a man his personal liberty, to compel him to labor without giving him any just equivalent for his labors, is to injure him in his person, property, and character; this is robbery and oppression in their very worst forms.

On the side of their oppressors there was power.

The enslavers of this land have *law* and *prejudice*, and *riches* on their side; these are indeed powerful. But all

these together, cannot withstand the arm of omnipotence, when God shall arise to plead the cause of the oppressed.

And is it not true, that the slaves have *no comforter?* Who is permitted to pour into their desponding hearts the consolations of hope, or the balm of God's promises? Let the following extract from the laws of Louisiana, say who.

"If any person in Louisiana, from the *box*, *bench*, *stage*, *pulpit*, or any other place, or in *conversation*, shall make use of any *language*, *signs*, or *actions* having a *tendency* to produce discontent among free colored people, or insubordination among the slaves, (such as may give them a hope in the promise of God, that they shall be free) such persons shall be punished with *imprisonment* from *three* to *twenty-one years*, or with DEATH, at the discretion of the court."

And this is but a transcript of similar laws which are in force in nearly all of the slave States. *Twenty-one years' imprisonment*, or *death* upon the gallows, for speaking one word, or happening to make some kind of a *gesture* which may be *interpreted* as having a *tendency* to cause certain acts!!! Was the like ever heard of before in the annals of the whole world!!

And yet, as often as we quote the word of God, or attempt to say anything against these most cruel and wicked of all laws that were ever passed by any government since the world began, we must be asked, in scorn, "Why do you not go into those States where slavery exists, and labor for its overthrow?" And those persons who so tauntingly make this inquiry, are "opposed to slavery," they tell us! Very well, and if they are opposed to it, pray, why do *they* not go into the slave States, and tell the people that they are opposed to slavery, and not tarry here, at the north, and oppose all that others are striving to do for the removal of this great and growing evil? If they are, indeed, willing to be *fined*, *imprisoned for twenty-one years*, or to be *hung* like a pirate

upon the gallows or gibbet, for speaking a *word* or making a *sign* merely, let them go to the South, and proclaim their opposition to "slavery in the abstract," in the ears of those who enforce the laws above noticed; then we will believe them.

10. *Higher than the highest.*

We cannot be reminded too often of this solemn truth;—God is infinitely acquainted with everything that in any way concerns the oppressor and the oppressed; and he is pledged to deliver all such as are afflicted, when they call upon him in faith.

11. *Maketh wise men mad.*

The word here rendered *mad*, is from *halal*, which signifies, among other things, *to be haughty, arrogant, wicked.* If *mad* be the correct rendering of it, here, we might inquire, whether *oppression* produces this effect upon the enslaver, or the enslaved, or whether this effect be produced upon both as well as upon those who look on and witness its effects in others. Admitting those are *mad* who are praying for the abolition of slavery, as some pretend to believe, this state of mind is produced, it must be remembered, by the *crimes* of others, and perhaps it were as desirable to suffer it, as it is to be

"Frighted when a madman stares."

But it is, however, a well-known fact, that one of the first and most direct influences which the slave system produces upon the minds of all who become connected with it, is to render their dispositions *arrogant* and *haughty.* The following testimony from Thomas Jefferson, may be considered as conclusive evidence upon this point.

"The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on one part, and degrading submissions

on the other. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to his *worst of passions*; and nursed, educated, and daily exercised in *tyranny*, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances."

CHAPTER VII.

ISAIAH.

God commands the oppressor most explicitly to let the oppressed go free.

1. Cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed; judge the fatherless; plead for the widow. Isa. i, 16.

2. For the vineyard of the LORD of hosts is the house of Israel, and the men of Judah his pleasant plant; and he looked for judgment, but behold oppression; for righteousness, but behold a cry. Isa. v, 7.

3. Therefore the LORD shall have no joy in their young men, neither shall have mercy on their fatherless and widows: for every one is a hypocrite

and an evil doer, and every mouth speaketh folly. Isa. ix, 17.

4. And they shall take them captives whose captives they were, and they shall rule over their oppressors. And it shall come to pass in the day that the LORD shall give thee rest from thy sorrow, and from thy fear, and from the hard bondage wherein thou wast made to serve. Isa. xiv, 2.

5. For they shall cry unto the LORD, because of the oppressors, and he shall send them a Saviour, and a great one, and he shall deliver them. Isa. xix, 20.

6. Wherefore thus saith the Holy One of Israel, Because ye despise this word, and trust in oppression and perverseness, and stay thereon; therefore this iniquity shall be to you as a breach ready to fall, swelling out in a high wall, whose breaking cometh suddenly at an instant. Isa. xxx, 12.

7. He that despiseth the gain of oppressions, that shaketh his hands from holding of bribes, that stoppeth his ears from hearing of blood, and shutteth his eyes from seeing evil; he shall dwell on high; his place of defence shall be the munitions of rocks; bread shall be given him, his waters shall be sure. Isa. xxxiii, 15.

8. I have raised him up in righteousness, and I will direct all his ways; he shall build my city, and

he shall let go my captives; not for price nor reward, saith the Lord of hosts. Isa. xlv, 13.

9. Thus saith thy Lord the LORD, and thy God that pleadeth the cause of his people, Behold, I have taken out of thine hand the cup of trembling, even the dregs of the cup of my fury: — but I will put it into the hand of them that afflict thee; which have said to thy soul, bow down, that we may go over; and thou hast laid thy body as the ground, and as the street to them that went over. Isa. li, 22.

10. Cry aloud, spare not; lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show my people their transgression, and the house of Jacob, their sins. Isa. lviii, 1.

11. Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Isa. lviii, 6.

12. Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out, to thy house? when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh? Isa. lviii, 7.

13. Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall bring forth speedily; and thy righteousness shall go before thee, the glory of the Lord shall be thy rearward. Isa. lviii, 8.

14. Then shalt thou call, and the LORD shall answer; thou shall cry, and he shall say, Here I am. If thou take away from the midst of thee the yoke, the putting forth of the finger, and speaking vanity. Isa. lviii, 8.

15. And if thou draw out thy soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul; then shall thy light rise in obscurity, and thy darkness be as the noon-day. Isa. lviii, 10.

16. And the LORD shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought, and make fat thy bones; and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not. Isa. lviii, 11.

17. And they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places; thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called the Repairer of the breach, the Restorer of paths to dwell in. Isa. lviii, 12.

18. For your hands are defiled with blood, and your fingers with iniquity; your lips have spoken lies, your tongue hath muttered perverseness. Isa. lix, 3.

19. Their feet run to do evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood; their thoughts are thoughts of iniquity, wasting and destruction are in their paths. The way of peace they know not; and there is no judgment in their goings, they have

made them crooked paths; whosoever goeth therein shall not know peace. Isa. lix, 7.

20. Therefore is judgment far from us, neither doth justice overtake us; we wait for light, but behold obscurity; for brightness, but we walk in darkness. Isa. lix, 9.

21. For our transgressions are multiplied before thee, and our sins testify against us; — in transgressing and lying against the LORD, and departing away from our God, speaking oppression and revolt, conceiving and uttering from the heart words of falsehood. Isa. lix, 12.

22. And judgment is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off; for truth is fallen in the street, and equity cannot enter. Yea, truth faileth; and he that departeth from evil maketh himself a prey; and the LORD saw it, and it displeased him, and there was no judgment. Isa. lix, 14.

23. Cast ye up, cast ye up, prepare the way, take up the stumbling-block out of the way of my people. Isa. lvii, 14.

NOTES ON CHAPTER VII.

1. *Cease to do evil.*

And when this simple command of God is obeyed, slavery in all its forms will have been banished from the earth. The right of property in the souls and bodies of the human

species, will have ceased forever. But, alas! how many frightful bug-bears have been conjured up in the imaginations of men, against an immediate compliance with this command of God! To substitute, for the present authority of the "slave-master," a system of legal restraint, which should be adequately and impartially administered upon the slave population of this land, and to maintain such a system of laws by police regulations, as severe as the case might require, would, in the opinions of not a few, dissolve the unity of this nation! To abolish tyranny immediately, and establish law to supersede the right of the private master to use the club, and the cowhide,—to make a magistrate, instead of the irresponsible master, the judge of what constitutes an offence, and to let an impartially-chosen jury judge whether such offence has been committed, would, in the *fears* of many, be the greatest curse which could come upon the nation! And yet, this is all that is meant by *immediate abolition.*

3. *A hypocrite.*

Such, many, if not most of the persons who do not profess the Christian name, believe the generality of slaveholding Christians to be; and that there is a manifest and glaring inconsistency in the conduct of those Christians and Christian ministers, who give their support to the slave-system, all persons know who have reflected at all upon the subject.

4. *Take them captives whose captives they were.*

This was fulfilled in the restoration of the Jews from their state of captivity, when they took their enemies captives who had held them in bondage. So God has often caused the scales to turn in favor of the oppressed. The principles by which he governs the world are immutably the same; he *may* do this again.

6. *Because ye despise this word, and trust in oppression.*

And is it not true to the very letter of this passage, that

the enslavers both at the North and the South, in this land, do despise every effort which has been made to rid the country of slavery Do they not trust in oppression, and appeal to the laws by which they oppress the slaves, to prove their "rights," and to show how secure they are in the enjoyment of them? And if we may believe the truth set forth in this text, can we suppose that such are exposed to no danger, while in such a course of conduct?

8. *And he shall let go my captives, not for price nor reward.*

This evidently refers to Cyrus, the Persian king, whom God made a special agent for the liberation of the Jews from their Babylonian captivity. When he had captured the city, he let the Jews go free, without any *price* or *reward;* but certainly there would have been a thousand times more *justice* in his demanding a *price* for their liberation, than there is in the demand which the enslavers of this country make, for the freedom of those who have been laboring for their good, ever since they were born. If justice in the latter case were to be done, the slaves would not only have their freedom restored to them, of which they have been so *unjustly* deprived, but they would also receive a *large price*, not as a *gift*, indeed, but as a *just debt* for their long and arduous labors, and for the wrongs and sufferings which they have endured.

10. *Spare not.*

It is certainly painful to any sincere Christian, to feel himself under the necessity of reproving another for sin; but it is, nevertheless, a necessity which every faithful Christian will bear rather than sin himself against God and the souls of his fellow men. It is God who has said, — *Thou shalt in anywise rebuke thy neighbor, and not suffer sin upon him;* or as the margin reads, *that thou bear not sin for him.* Lev. xix, 19. He that sees his brother sin, and neglects, through

fear, or a false view of things, to reprove him, in a suitable way for it, becomes, thereby, in a measure, responsible for the sin of his neighbor, and he sins himself moreover in disobeying the above command of God.

11. *Let the oppressed go free.*

On this passage, the learned and pious Dr. A. Clarke, makes the following remarks:—"How can any nation pretend to fast or to worship God at all, or dare to profess that they believe in the existence of such a Being, while they carry on what is called the *slave-trade;* and traffic in the souls, blood, and bodies of men! O ye most *flagitious* of KNAVES, and *worst* of HYPOCRITES, cast off at once the *mask* of religion; and deepen not your endless perdition by professing the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, whilst ye continue in this traffic!"

The trade here spoken of, is carried on now, as it has been for years past in this country, and thousands on thousands of men, women and children are every year bought and sold in this Christian land!

16. *The Lord shall guide thee continually.*

Let the reader observe how many heavenly and most encouraging promises are held out in this and the four preceding verses, to such as comply with God's command concerning such as they now hold in bondage. What a pity that any Christian should lack faith to yield a ready obedience to God's word, and claim their present fulfillment!

17. *The old waste places.*

That there are such places in the slave States, places which are made *waste* by the slave-system, the following extract will prove. It is from a speech delivered in the house of Virginia delegates, Jan. 14, 1832, by Thomas Marshall, Esq.

"Wherefore then object to slavery? Because it is *ruinous* to the whites — retards improvement — roots out an industrious population — banishes the yeomanry of the country —

deprives the spinner, the weaver, the smith, the carpenter of employment and support. The evil admits of NO REMEDY. It is increasing, and will continue to increase, until the whole country will be inundated with one black wave, covering its whole extent, with here and there a few white faces, floating on its surface. The master has no capital but what is vested in human flesh; the father, instead of being richer for his sons, is at a loss to provide for them. There is no diversity of occupations, no incentives to enterprize. Labor of every species is disreputable, because performed mostly by slaves. Our towns are *stationary*, our villages almost everywhere *declining;* and the general aspect of the country marks the curse of a *wasteful, idle, reckless population*, who have no interest in the soil, and care not how much it is impoverished. Public improvements are neglected; and the entire continent does not present a region for which nature has done so much, and art so little."

18. *Your hands are defiled with blood.*

How true to the very letter, this and some of the following verses describe the conduct of many in these United States, the following testimonies will show; they are from scores of the kind which might be adduced.

"The Winchester (Va.) Republican, has an interesting narrative of a case of *kidnapping*, in which a woman was rescued, though the wretch who sold her to a trader in human flesh escaped. Dealing in slaves has become a *large business.* Establishments are made at several places in Maryland and Virginia, at which they are sold like cattle. These places of deposit are strongly built, and well supplied with *iron thumb-screws* and *gags*, and ornamented with *cow-skins*, and other whips, oftentimes BLOODY. But the laws of these States permit the traffic, and it is suffered."—*Niles's Weekly Register for* 1829.

"To enumerate all the horrid and aggravating instances

of men-stealing, which are known to have occurred in the State of Delaware, within the recollection of many of the citizens of that State, would require a volume. In many cases, *whole families* of free colored people have been attacked in the night, beaten nearly to death with clubs, *gagged* and bound, and dragged into distant and hopeless slavery, leaving no traces behind, except the BLOOD from their *wounds*.

"The ingenuity and stratagems employed by kidnappers in effecting their designs, are such as to prove that the most consummate cunning is no evidence of wisdom or moral purity, nor incompatible with the most consummate villainy. A monster in human shape was detected in Philadelpha, pursuing the occupation of courting and marrying mulatto women, and selling them as slaves.

"From the best information that I have had opportunities to collect, I am fully convinced that there are at this time, within the jurisdiction of the United States, *several thousands of legally free people of color, toiling under the yoke of involuntary servitude*, and transmitting the same fate to their posterity." — *Portraiture of Dom. Slav. &c. by Dr. J. Torry.*

22. *Maketh himself a prey.*

It is so common for men generally to practice iniquity, that he who repents and forsakes it, becomes a prey, a by-word, and a reproach among his neighbors. The Rev. J. D. Paxton, formerly minister of a congregation at Cumberland, Va. in right of his wife, was a slaveholder. But having with his pious companion become convinced of the sin of enslaving the human species, he repented of his error, and set his slaves free. He very soon after become a prey to the ill-will of those whose sins his conduct reproved, and was accordingly reproached and dismissed from his people.

A writer in the Christian Advocate and Journal, a religious paper published at New-York, stated, not long since, that the

Rev. Dr. Coke, one of the first bishops of the Methodist Episcopal church, said and preached so much against the sin of slavery, at the South, that it was thirty years before the enslavers, whom it irritated, ceased to reproach the Dr. and the people with whom he was connected, on this account! This was said to show the *impolicy* of preaching against slavery, at the present day!

CHAPTER VIII.

JEREMIAH.

God has pronounced the bitterest of woes upon all such as are concerned in stealing men,—and upon all such as use the labors of their species without wages.

1. For among my people are found wicked men; they lay wait, as he that setteth snares; they set a trap, they catch men. Jer. v, 26.

2. They are waxen fat, they shine; yea, they overpass the deeds of the wicked; they judge not the cause, the cause of the fatherless, yet they prosper; and the right of the needy do they not judge. Jer. v, 28.

3. For if ye thoroughly amend your ways, and

your doings; if ye thoroughly execute judgment between a man and his neighbor; if ye oppress not the stranger, the fatherless and the widow, and shed not innocent blood in this place; then will I cause you to dwell in this place, in the land that I gave to your fathers, forever and ever. Jer. vii. 5.

4. Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people. Oh that I might leave my people, and go from them! for they be all adulterers, an assembly of treacherous men. Jer. ix, 1.

5. Thus saith the LORD, Execute judgment in the morning, and deliver him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor, lest my fury go out like fire, and burn that none can quench it, because of the evil of your doings. Jer. xxi, 12.

6. Thus saith the LORD, Execute ye judgment and righteousness, and deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor; and do no wrong, do no violence to the stranger, the fatherless nor the widow, neither shed innocent blood in this place. Jer. xxii, 3.

7. Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong; that useth his neighbor's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work. Jer. xxii, 13.

8. But thine eyes and thine heart are not but

for thy covetousness, and for to shed innocent blood, and for oppression, and for violence to do it. Jer. xxii, 17

9. And ye shall seek me, and find me, when ye shall search for me with all your heart. And I will be found of you saith the LORD; and I will turn away your captivity, and I will gather you from all the nations, and from all the places whither I have driven you, saith the LORD. Jer. xxix, 13.

10. Now when all the princes and all the people which had entered into the covenant, heard that every one should let his man-servant, and every one his maid-servant go free, that none should serve themselves of them any more, then they obeyed and let them go. Jer. xxxiv, 10.

11. But afterward they turned, and caused the servants and the handmaids, whom they had let go free, to return, and brought them into subjection for servants and for handmaids. Jer. xxxiv, 11.

12. Therefore thus saith the LORD; ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming liberty, every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor; behold I proclaim a liberty for you saith the LORD, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine. Jer. xxxiv, 17.

13. Thus saith the LORD of hosts, The children of Israel, and the children of Judah were oppressed together; and all that took them captives held them

fast; they refused to let them go. Their Redeemer is strong; the LORD of hosts is his name; he shall thoroughly plead their cause, that he may give rest to the land. Jer. l, 33 — 34.

NOTES ON CHAPTER VIII.

1. *They set a trap; they catch men.*

The Rev. G. Bourne, who resided some time in Virginia, remarks concerning the "*man catchers*" and their "*traps*" in this country as follows:

"Nothing is more common than for two of these white partners in iniquity, Satan-like, to start upon the prowl, and if they find a free man upon the road, to demand his certificate, (a certain writing which all free colored people at the South must have with them, or be deemed and taken for slaves) tear it in pieces or secrete it, tie him to one of their horses, hurry to some jail, while one whips the citizen along as fast as their horses can travel. There, by an understanding with the jailor, who SHARES in the spoil, all possibility of intercourse with his friends is cut off. At the earliest possible period, the captive is sold to pay the felonious claims of the law, brought through jugglery by this trio of man-stealers; and then transferred to some of their accomplices in iniquity, who fill every part of the Southern States with fraud, rapine and blood."

Dr. Torry, before mentioned, describes another kind of "trap" by which thousands of poor souls have been "caught" in this land of Christians; he says:—"They have lately, (this was in 1817,) invented a method of attaining their objects through the instrumentality of the laws. Having selected a suitable free colored person, to made a pitch upon,

the conjuring kidnapper employs a confederate, to ascertain the distinguishing marks of his body, and then claims and obtains him as a slave, before a magistrate, by describing those marks, and proving the truth of his assertions by his well instructed accomplice."

And here is another; it is given by a member of the Lane Seminary, and it may be relied upon as a correct representation of scores of similar "traps" which are set in many other parts of the nation. He says:—

"A member of this institution, recently visiting among the colored people of Cincinnati, entered a house where was a mother and her little son. The wretched appearance of the house induced the visiter to suppose that the husband of the woman must be a drunkard. He inquired of the boy, who was about two or three years old, where his father was? He replied, '*Papa stole.*' The visiter seemed not to understand, and, turning to the mother, said, 'what does he mean? She then related the following circumstances. About two years ago, one evening her husband was sitting in the house, when two men came in, and professing great friendship, persuaded him, under some pretence, to go on board a steamboat, then lying at the dock, and bound down the river. After some hesitation he consented to go. She heard nothing from him after this, for more than a year, but supposed he had been kidnapped. In the spring of 1833, Dr. ———, of Cincinnati, saw him and recognized him, in a drove of slaves at Natchez, Miss., and in a conversation which he held with him, he learned that the negro had been driven about from place to place, since he was decoyed from home, by the 'soul-drivers,' had been bought and sold two or three times, and once had been immured within the walls of a jail for safe keeping." And see the 18th note in the preceding chapter, where other kinds of "man-traps" are described, and by which the free and unoffending citizens of this Republic are *caught* and *enslaved.*

4. *They be all adulterers.*

And in view of the crimes of this nature, which are fostered, legalized, and perpetuated by the slave-system, with what propriety may one adopt the language of this text! Take the following as evidence upon this point; in reading these facts, the reader will see, perhaps, the reasons why we are so often desired by the pro-slavery party not to touch this "delicate subject."

"There is one feature of this nefarious traffic, (the Domestic Slave Trade) which no motives of delicacy can induce me to omit mentioning. Shall we conceal the truth, because its revelation will shock the finer sensibilities of the soul, when by such concealment we shut out all hope of remedying an evil which dooms to a dishonored life and to a hopeless death thousands of the females of our country? Is this wise? Is it prudent? Is it *right?* I allude to the fact that large numbers of female mulattoes are annually brought up, and carried down to our southern cities, and sold at enormous prices for purposes of private prostitution. This is a fact of universal notoriety in the south-western States. It is known to every soul-driver in the nation. And is it so *bad* that Christians may not know it, and, knowing it, apply the remedy? In the consummation of this nameless abomination, threats and the lash come in, where kind promises and money fail. And will not the mothers of America feel in view of these facts?" [*H. B. Stanton.*]

"The law does not recognize marriages among slaves, so as to clothe them with the rights and immunities, which are given to this State, among citizens. The owner of either party may, the next day, or hour, break up the connection in any way he pleases. In fact, these connections have no protection, and are so often broken up by sales, and transfers, and removals, that they are by the slaves often called 'taking up

together.' The sense of marriage fidelity must be greatly weakened, if not wholly destroyed by such a state of things. The effect is most disastrous.

"But there are other circumstances which deserve our notice. What effect is likely to be produced on the morals of the whites, from having about them, and under their absolute authority, female slaves who are deprived of the strongest motives to purity and exposed to peculiar temptations to opposite conduct! The condition of female slaves is such, that promises and threatenings and management can hardly fail to conquer them. They are entirely dependent on their master. They have no way to make a shilling to procure any article they need. Like all poor people, they are fond of finery, and wish to imitate those who are above them. What, now, are not presents and kind treatment likely to effect on such persons? And the fact that their children, should they have any through such intercourse, may expect better treatment from so near relations, may have its influence. That the vice prevails to a most shameful extent, is proved from the rapid increase of mulattoes. Oh, how many have fallen before this temptation; so many, that it has almost ceased to be a shame to fall! Oh, how many parents may trace the impiety and licentiousness and shame of their prodigal sons, to the temptations found in the female slaves of their own or their neighbors' households! And many a lovely and excellent woman, confiding in vows of affection and fidelity, trusting to her power over her devoted lover, has, after uniting her fate with his, and giving him all that a woman has to give, found, when too late, how incorrigible are those habits of roving desire formed in youth and kept alive by the temptations and facilities of the slave system.

"Now, when we read the repeated declarations, that '*fornicators and adulterers shall not inherit the kingdom of God*,' and call to mind the teachings of our Lord, that all in-

tercourse between the sexes, except what takes place between one man and one woman in marriage faith, amounts to those crimes; how can we, as believers in Christianity, uphold a system which presents this temptation both to the bond and free, and yet escape a participation in the guilt?" — [*Rev. J. D. Paxton.*]

"Again, slaves, in consequence of the manner in which they are raised, are generally prone to vicious indulgencies, and many of them are exceedingly profligate; their master's children often mingle with them, and not only witness their vicious practices, but also listen to their lascivious conversation, and thus from infancy they become familiar with almost everything wicked and obscene. And this, in connection with easy access, becomes a strong temptation to lewdness. Hence it often happens that the master's children practice the same vices which prevail among his slaves; and even the master himself is liable to be overwhelmed by the floods of temptation. And in some instances the father and his sons are involved in one common ruin; nor do the daughters always escape this impetuous fountain of pollution. Were it necessary, I could refer you to several instances of slaves actually seducing the daughters of their masters! Such seductions sometimes happen, even in the most respectable slaveholding families." — [*Rev. John Rankin.*]

Other testimonies of a similar kind, and from the most credible persons residing in the slave States, might be given, were it necessary. Perhaps the reader is aware how often we have been told, by the pro-slavery party, that, to abolish the slave system, would lead to an amalgamation of the whites and blacks of this country! The persons who make the above objection, however, against the anti-slavery movements of the present day, do not seem to feel any great repugnance against the "amalgamation" described in the above extracts,

which now prevails to such an alarming and disgraceful extent at the south and west.

7. *Woe unto him, that useth his neighbor's services without wages.*

And how could there be a more faithful description of the slave-holding which prevails in this country, than is found in this passage of Scripture? Nor does it invalidate this remark, to say that the prophet did not have this system in his mind when he uttered these words; who *knows* that he did not? The truth is, there is not one sin of any kind, committed at the present day, which is more directly and explicitly described in the language of the Bible, than the *sin of slave-holding* is in this text; — not one! Who *builds his house by wrong*, by the fruits of another's labor? — *the enslaver of the human species. Who uses his neighbor's services without giving him wages* in return? Who compels his *neighbor* to toil from day to day, and from year to year, without *giving him wages for his work*? — the SLAVE-HOLDER! And, reader, what does the infinite God say concerning such in this text?

CHAPTER IX.

EZEKIEL — DANIEL — HOSEA — JOEL — AMOS — JONAH — MICAH — NAHUM — HABAKKUK — ZECHARIAH — AND MALACHI.

Various features of the slave-system, most aptly described in the language of the Bible.

1. Thus saith the LORD God, Woe to the women that sew pillows to all arm-holes, and make kerchiefs upon the head of every stature to hunt souls! Will ye hunt the souls of my people, — and will ye pollute me among my people, for handsful of barley and for pieces of bread, to slay the souls that should not die, and to save the souls alive that should not live, by your lying to my people, that hear your lies? Ezek. xiii, 18.

2. If a man be just — and hath not oppressed any, but hath restored to the debtor his pledge, hath spoiled none by violence, hath given his bread to the hungry, and hath covered the naked with a garment; hath executed true judgment between man and man, he shall surely live, saith the LORD God. Ezek. xviii, 5 — 9.

3. Her princes in the midst thereof are like wolves ravening the prey, to shed blood, and to destroy souls, to get dishonest gain. Ezek. xxii, 27.

4. And her prophets have daubed them with untempered mortar, seeing vanity, and divining lies unto them, saying, Thus saith the LORD God, when the LORD hath not spoken. Ezek. xxii, 28.

5. The people of the land have used oppression, and exercised robbery, and have vexed the poor and needy; yea, they have oppressed the stranger wrongfully. Ezek. xxii, 29.

6. They traded the persons of men, and vessels of brass in ...et. Ezek. xxvii, 13.

7. ...off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by showing mercy to the poor. Dan. iv, 27

8. He is a merchant, the balances of deceit are in his hand, he loveth to oppress. Hos. xii, 7.

9. And they cast lots for my people; and have given a boy for an harlot, and sold a girl for wine, that they might drink. Joel iii, 3.

10. The children also of Judah, and the children of Jerusalem have ye sold unto the Grecians, that ye might remove them far from their border. Behold, I will raise them out of the place whither ye have sold them, and will return your recompense upon your own head. Joel iii, 6.

11. Thus saith the LORD, for three transgressions

of Israel, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof, because they sold the righteous for silver, and the poor for a pair of shoes; and a man and his father will go in unto the same maid, to profane my holy name. Amos ii, 6.

12 Let man and beast be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God; yea, let them turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence that is in their hands; who can tell if God will turn and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger, that we perish not? Jonah iii, 8.

13. He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the LORD require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God? Mic. vi, 8.

14. Woe to the bloody city! it is all full of lies and robberies; the prey departeth not; the noise of a whip,—because of the multitude of the whoredoms of the well-favored harlot, the mistress of witchcrafts, that selleth nations through her whoredoms, and families through her witchcrafts. Na. iii, 1—4.

15. Therefore the law is slacked, and judgment doth never go forth; for the wicked doth compass about the righteous; therefore wrong judgment proceedeth. Hab. i, 4.

16 Thus saith the LORD my God; Feed the flock of the slaughter, whose possessors slay them,

and hold themselves not guilty; and they that sell them say, Blessed be the LORD, for I am rich; and their own shepherds pity them not. Zec. xi, 4.

17. Have we not all one father? hath not one God created us? Why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother, by profaning the covenant of our fathers? Mal. ii, 10.

18. And I will come near to you to judgment; and I will be a swift witness against the sorcerers, and against the adulterers, and against false swearers, and against those that oppress the hireling in his wages, the widow, and the fatherless, and that turn aside the stranger from his right, and fear not me, saith the LORD of hosts. Mal. iii, 5.

NOTES ON CHAPTER IX.

1. *Will ye hunt the souls of my people?*

A negro hunt is a common occurrence in the slave States. "When negroes run away from the happiness which their masters say they enjoy at home, a hunt is immediately set on foot. In the pursuit, with dogs and guns, there appears to be not the least hesitation in shooting the fugitives, or tearing them in pieces. I recollect an extract from a private letter written near Edenton, N. C., two or three years ago, (before the Southampton insurrection) which, among other matters of no great moment, mentioned that they had had '*great negro shooting lately.*' I have heard of shooting negroes from trees with as little concern, and apparently with as keen a zest,

as a northern sportsman drops a squirrel or a quail." — [*D. L. Child, Esq.*]

"Occasionally armed parties of whites go in pursuit of them, who make no secret of their determination to shoot down all that refuse to surrender — which they sometimes do. In one instance, a negro who was closely pursued, instead of heeding the order to surrender, waded into a shallow pond, beyond the reach of his pursuers; refusing still to yield, he was shot through the heart by one of the party. This occurred near Natchez, but no notice was taken of it by the civil authorities; but in this they were consistent, for the city patroles, or night-watch are allowed to do the same thing with impunity, though it is authorized by no law.

"Another mode of capturing run-aways, is by blood-hounds; this I hope is rarely done. An instance was related to me in Clairborne county, Miss. A runaway was heard about the house in the night. The hound was put upon his track, and in the morning was found watching the dead body of the negro. The dogs are trained to this service while young. A negro is directed to go into the woods, and secure himself upon a tree. When sufficient time has been allowed for doing this, the hound is put upon his track. The blacks, also, are compelled to worry the hounds, till they make them their implacable enemies; and it is common to meet with dogs which will take no notice of whites, though entire strangers, but will suffer no black, besides the house servants, to enter the yard. Captured slaves are confined in jail till claimed by their owners. If they are not claimed within the time prescribed by law, they are sold at public sale, and in the mean time are employed as scavengers, with a heavy ball and chain fastened to one of their ancles." — [*A. S. Record for March*, 1835.]

2. *Hath spoiled none by violence.*

How often are we told that the slaves of this country are

so ignorant and degraded, that they are incapable of taking care of themselves. But how came they thus ignorant and degraded? Has the great God created a race of human beings, and made them incapable of taking care of themselves? If not, who has *spoiled* these human intelligences of that capacity? Who prevents their instruction? Who takes the fruit of their labors? And will a system which spoils millions of men, women and children in this way, regenerate itself and restore what it has so wickedly taken away? Or will those who in any way uphold this system, be the persons to fit the slaves for their liberty? And how will they do this while they countenance and uphold slavery?

3. *To shed blood and to destroy souls.*

It is stated in the preamble to some resolutions introduced by Mr. Miner to the House of Representatives, in 1829, that "Officers of the federal government have been employed, and derive emoluments from carrying on the Domestic Slave-Trade." Indeed, the *princes* of this land are at the head of the slave-system.

"Droves of slaves are purchased by members of Congress, and conducted by themselves in person or by proxy, to their quarters. An honorable senator has been seen, several hundred miles from Washington, conveying a LOT of slaves, purchased during his official attendance in that city, almost to the very doors of the huts intended for their residence." — [*Letter of J. G. Birney, Esq.*]

4. *Her prophets have daubed them.*

And whether those ministers of this land, who attempt to justify the system of slave-holding from the Scriptures, do not imitate the conduct of the prophets mentioned in this text, let the reader judge. A SLAVE-HOLDING *preacher!* There is, certainly, something indescribably repulsive in the thought of joining these two employments together! And how would

the idea strike the reader, to contemplate *Jesus Christ* as an *enslaver* of the human species? How would it sound in the ear of a Christian, at this age of the world, to speak of St. Paul as a "soul-driver," or a "slave-holder?"

5. *The people of this land have used oppression.*

And what wonder is it, if the people become oppressors, when their rulers and their ministers set them the example?

6. *Traded the persons of men.*

This was their sin; they made merchandize of the souls and bodies of men, the same as many do now!

9. *Cast lots for my people.*

How aptly this passage of Scripture describes a part of the slave-system in this land, the following extract will show. It is from the *Picture of Slavery in the United States*, by the Rev. Mr. Bourne, before referred to. In accounting for the very great number of mulattoes which may be found upon some of the plantations at the south, whom he saw, he says:— "According to my companion's account, (a gentleman with whom he was travelling in Virginia,) there was a regular system established, by which it was scarcely possible for a child to be born without having some approximation to white, beyond that of the darkest of its generations; and that, between the owner of the plantation and his boys, and the overseer and his son, and their other artificers, he presumed that soon he would not have one black person upon the plantation." So true it is, that every abomination which was ever practiced among men, is now fostered and perpetuated by the slave-system!

CHAPTER X.

JESUS CHRIST.

Our blessed Saviour did as really describe and condemn the sin of slave-holding, as he did the sin of any other practice to which men are now addicted.

1. Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy. Matt. v, 7.

2. Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Matt. v, 11.

3. Whosoever, therefore, shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of Heaven; but whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of Heaven. Matt. v, 19.

4. Therefore, if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift. Matt. v, 23.

5. Love your enemies, bless them that curse you,

do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you. Matt. v, 44.

6. Therefore, all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets. Matt. vii, 12.

7. Go ye and learn what that meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice. Matt. ix, 13.

8. Jesus said unto him, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. Matt. xxii, 37.

9. Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith; these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone. Matt. xxiii, 23.

10. Then shall they also answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee a hungered, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee? Then shall he answer them saying, Verily, I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me. Matt. xxv, 44.

11. The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because

he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord. Luke iv, 18.

12. Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is merciful. Luke vi, 36.

13. Take head and beware of covetousness; for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth. Luke xii, 15.

14. These things I command you, that ye love one another. John xv, 17. This is my commandment, that ye love one another, as I have loved you. John xv, 12.

15. God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power; who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil. Acts x, 38.

16. Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbor unto him that fell among the thieves? And he said, He that showed mercy on him. Then said Jesus unto him, Go and do thou likewise. Luke x, 36.

NOTES ON CHAPTER X.

1. *They shall obtain mercy.*

Mercy, from *misericordia*; and this from *miserans*, pitying; and *cor*, the heart; or *miseria cordi*, pain of heart. It signifies that pain which one feels upon the sight or knowledge of another who is in misery, and which leads him to the use of suitable means for his relief. How do the enslavers of the human species show mercy toward those whom they deprive of their liberty, and from whom they keep back the price of their labor? "How shalt thou hope for mercy, rendering none?"

2. *When men shall persecute you.*

And does the blessing here pronounced upon the persecuted authorize another to persecute them? It certainly does, if those precepts which enjoin obedience upon servants, may be quoted as a justification of the conduct of the enslavers who deprive them of their liberty.

3. *Whosoever shall break one of these commandments.*

"What an awful consideration is this! He who by his mode of *acting*, *speaking*, or *explaining* the word of God, sets the holy precept aside, or explains away its force and meaning, shall be called least, shall have no place in the kingdom of Christ here, nor in the kingdom of glory above." [*Dr. Clarke.*]

Let those ministers and members of Christian churches who hold their species in bondage, reflect on these fearful words of unerring truth; and when they do this, let them remember how much dependence is made upon their example, by other enslavers who do not profess to love God! And then let them ask themselves, whether they do not break one of the

least of God's commandments, with regard to the poor and needy, and whether they do not, in some sense, teach others to do the same?

4. *First be reconciled to thy brother.*

And how can a professing Christian be reconciled to a brother whom he violently holds in bonds? How can a believer in the truth of the Bible help remembering, when he approaches the altar of God in prayer, that every one of his poor defenceless slaves has *aught* against him! He withholds from them their liberty, the greatest of all earthly blessings; and have they *nothing* against him? He deprives them of the fruit of their labor; have they *nothing* against him? He deprives tho parents of their right to their own offspring; have they *nothing* against him? He parts the wife from her husband, and the husband from his wife; have they *nothing* against him? He gives his example in support of a violent and most wicked and cruel system of bondage, a system which perpetuates the horrid traffic in human souls, in human flesh and blood; have they *nothing* against him? Has no slave in this land anything against such a Christian, when he thus gives his influence to support a system which robs and grinds to the very dust more than two millions of men, women, and children? A system which shuts from their minds the lights of science and religion, a system which is made up of the worst kind of theft, and which defrauds the poor and friendless, destroyes feminine modesty, and corrupts all classes in society where it prevails with every shade of vice and irreligion? In a word, if every poor slave in this nation have not enough, in the sight of God, against every Christian enslaver of the human species, to prevent their prayers from being heard, unless they repent, then are these words of God utterly null and void, and without meaning to us.

5. *Love your enemies.*

This is one of the most sublime and heavenly precepts

which it was ever made the duty of men to obey ; and by it men may justify themselves in becoming our enemies in precisely the same way that others justify the system of slavery, by quoting those Scriptures which direct servants to obey their masters. And if we are to love those who are our enemies and who injure us, how much more should the master love his slaves, who have been his *friends*, and who have supported him in affluence and ease ever since he was born ?

6. *Do ye even so to them.*

And how could Christ have expressed himself more directly against slavery than he has done in these words. Nor, indeed, is it easy to conceive that it could have been necessary for him to do so, even had it been possible. It is true Christ might have described the sin of slave-holding, and condemned it by name ; and so he could have described the sin of *polygamy*, and the sin of *rum drinking*, and the sin of *gambling*, with many other sins — but this he did not do ; and shall we infer from this that all these sins are allowed by the Son of God ?

Now, does the enslaver of the human species do as he would be done by, in keeping his fellow men in bondage ? And yet, how often must we be told, that " Christ never said anything against *slavery !* " *Nothing* against slavery ! when he has laid down this rule for the conduct of all slave-holders ; — *All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them !*

But surely, nothing can be more evident than that there is just as much in this command against slavery as there is against theft, adultery, or murder.

7. *I will have mercy.*

These words are quoted from 1 Sam. xv, 22, and it would seem that many, even at this day, have to learn what they mean. The occasion upon which they were at first spoken,

shows their meaning to be, that God prefers an act of mercy shown to his needy creatures, before any act of religious worship, to which one might be called at the same time. Indeed, the tenor of the whole Bible proves this; and yet, how many restrain their bowels of mercies towards the necessitous, and then go and worship God, to atone for their guilt in leaving undone their duty to the poor and needy. The following fact may be given as a faint illustration of the propriety and consistency of such a course of conduct.

A deacon in a certain town in New-England went to meeting one Sabbath, and left his hired man at home; on returning in the afternoon from the house of God, he found that the man had not been at the church as he anticipated, but had retired to some part of the farm. The deacon immediately commenced searching for him, and on proceeding to the place where they had been engaged the day before, in burning wood, he found the man seated upon a log near a fire which he had kindled. On the deacon's asking him how he came thus to absent himself from meeting, and to break the holy Sabbath, he replied as follows: "Why, I only walked out here, and seeing the brands scattered around here and there, I just put them together, and then while they were burning, I thought I would sit down and sing a *psalm tune* to take the fiery edge off."

8. *Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.*

Do those professing Christians, do those ministers of the gospel love their neighbors as themselves, who have slaves in their families and upon their plantations, and the profits of whose labors they have been reaping for years, and who, at the same time, never have furnished these slaves with a Bible, nor suffered them to learn one single letter of the alphabet? Can they, do they love their neighbors as themselves, while they withhold from them their liberty, and take from them the fruit of their labor?

It may be said, we know that the laws prohibit their teaching their slaves to read the Bible; but suppose the laws should forbid their praying for their slaves, or attempting their spiritual instruction in any way? Whom should we obey, God or man? The slave States have just as much *right* to prohibit, under the penalties of *fine, imprisonment,* and *death,* all kinds of prayer for the slaves, as they have to prohibit their instruction in letters, or in a Sabbath school; and every Christian might as consistently yield their support to such a law as any do now to those laws which prevent the slaves from being taught to read the word of God.

9. *And have omitted the weightier matters of the law.*

That law of God which requires *justice* between man and man, and *mercy* to the distressed; this law, if obeyed, would at once and forever annihilate slavery from our nation and from the world. But alas! how many totally neglect this law, while at the same time they are exceedingly punctilious in paying tithe of mint and anise and cummin; nor do they seem to realize what a draw-back the sin of slave-holding is upon the virtues of some who might otherwise be what their professions would seem to signify.

10. *Ye did it not to one of the least of these my brethren.*

Hence, it is indisputable, that Christ considers the good or the evil which is done unto one of the least of his followers, as actually done unto himself. Now suppose for one moment, that slavery is not an evil; suppose it is consistent and right for a Christian to buy and sell men, women, and children, and hold them as his property. Is there any professing Christian, or any minister of the gospel who would deal thus with the person of Jesus Christ were he now here upon earth? How does it seem to the reader, to think of Jesus Christ set up at auction, bought and sold, yoked with an iron collar, chained,

scourged, and driven to work with a club or cowhide? But this is the kind of treatment which many of his disciples receive, and this too from those who claim to be their Christian pastors, and their brethren in the Lord! And these are they who tell us, "Christ never said anything against slavery!"

11. *To preach deliverance to the captives.*

Though these words primarily refer to the spiritual deliverance which the gospel effects for sinners, who have been slaves to sin, yet it is a fact that the Christian religion does tend to promote the civil liberties of all nations where it is permitted to operate without restraint. Hence, in about three centuries after the birth of Christ, slavery was abolished throughout the Roman empire. Christianity has since abolished slavery in France, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Austria, Germany, and throughout the dominions of Great Britain; and in a word, *America* is the only civilized Christian nation, where slavery is permitted to exist! And yet, we are the people to reproach other nations for their tyrannies, and to boast of our freedom and our republican laws and institutions!

12. *The acceptable year of the Lord.*

That is, the year of jubilee; as the Jews believed, their year of jubilee was typical of the redemption which was to be accomplished by the Messiah; and to this usage among the Jews the last clause of this text undoubtedly refers.

13. *Beware of covetousness.*

Beware of an eager, inordinate desire of that which belongs to another. If that is not covetousness which leads one to take possession of the liberty of his innocent fellow creatures, and to use their services without paying them wages for their labor, what is it? And covetousness, the apostle informs us, is *idolatry*. Col. iii, 5.

14. *As I have loved you.*

And how can the system of slave-holding stand in the pre-

sence of these words? *This is my commandment, that ye love one another as I have loved you.* That is, you should love one another as really and as sincerely in your sphere as I have loved you in mine. It is not doubted but that some slave-holders may covet the liberty and labor of the slaves enough to risk their lives in the support of a system by which they can deprive them of these blessings, but does any enslaver love his slaves enough to lay down his life for him? Nay, does he love them enough to restore to them those blessings and rights of which he has so unjustly deprived them? Let the following fact speak on this subject: it was narrated by the Rev. M. B. Cox, late Missionary to Liberia, in one of the public papers, soon after the event occurred.

After the insurrection in Southampton, Va., which took place a few years ago, a slave-holder went into the woods in quest of some of the insurgents, accompanied by a faithful slave, who had been the means of saving his life in the time of the massacre. After they had been some time in the woods, the slave handed his musket to his master, informing him at the same time that he could not live a slave any longer, and requesting him either to shoot him upon the spot, or set him free. The master took the gun from the hands of the slave, levelled it at his breast, and shot the faithful negro through the heart. Thus he was rewarded for his kindness to his master.

15. *Healing all that were oppressed of the devil.*

So, it seems, the devil himself is an oppressor, sinners are his slaves; and, if we may credit the testimony of the Bible on this point, as well as the confessions of many of his faithful servants, he is a most rigorous and unfeeling soul-driver.

Speaking on the subject of slavery, the learned and pious Dr. A. Clarke has expressed himself thus: — "I here register my testimony against the unprincipled, inhuman, and unchristian, and diabolical slave-trade, with all its authors, pro-

moters, abettors, and sacrilegious gains, as well as against the great devil, the father of it, and them."

Here the devil is put down as the great father of all slave-holders, slave-dealers, and of all who defend and support the slave-system in any way; and similar language might be quoted from almost every commentator, and Christian writer of any note who has ever lived.

CHAPTER XI.

ST. PAUL.

The Apostle Paul condemns slavery most explicitly, and shows that slave-holding is directly opposed to the spirit and temper of the Christian Religion.

1. Let love be without dissimulation. Abhor that which is evil; cleave to that which is good. Be kindly affectioned one to another, with brotherly love; in honor preferring one another. Rom. xii, 9.

2. Art thou called being a servant? care not for it; but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather. For he that is called in the Lord, being a servant, is the Lord's free man; likewise, also, he that is called, being free, is Christ's servant. 1 Cor. vii, 21.

3. Ye are bought with a price; be not ye the servants of men. 1 Cor. vii, 23.

4. Charity suffereth long and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked; thinketh no evil. 1 Cor. xiii, 4.

5. Charity beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. 1 Cor. xiii, 7.

6. For, brethren, ye have been called unto liberty only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another. For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. Gal. v, 13.

7. I, therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you, that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called, with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love. Eph. iv, 1.

8. And be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you. Eph iv, 32.

9. Servants be obedient to them that are your masters, according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ. Knowing, that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free. Eph. vi, 5.

10. And ye masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening; knowing that your Master also is in Heaven; neither is there respect of persons with him. Eph. vi, 9.

11. Let nothing be done through strife or vain-glory; but in lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves. Phil. ii, 3.

12. Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just; whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things. Phil. iv, 8.

13. Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a Master in Heaven. Col. iv, 1.

14. Withal praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance, to speak the mystery of Christ, for which I am also in bond. Col. iv, 3.

15. And Paul said, I would to God, that not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were both almost and altogether such as I am, except these bonds. Acts xxvi, 29.

16. Put on therefore as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering, forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have

a quarrel against any; even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye. Col. iii, 12.

17. Servants, obey in all things your masters according to the flesh; not with eye service, as men pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God. Col. iii, 22.

18. For this is the will of God — that no man go beyond and defraud his brother in any matter; because that the Lord is the avenger of all such, as we also have forewarned you and testified. 1 Thess. iv, 3.

19. Knowing this, that the law is not made for a righteous man, but for — the lawless, — for men-stealers. 1 Tim. i, 19.

20. Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit. 1 Tim. vi, 1.

21. Exhort servants to be obedient unto their own masters, and to please them well in all things; not answering again; not purloining, but showing all good fidelity; that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things. Tit. ii, 9.

22. Not now as a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved, especially to me, but how much

more unto thee, both in the flesh and in the Lord? If thou count me therefore a partner, receive him as myself. Phil. 16.

23. Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them; and them which suffer adversity, as being yourselves also in the body. Heb. xiii, 3.

NOTES ON CHAPTER XI.

1. *Let love be without dissimulation.*

Let your tempers and actions correspond with your professions; you profess to love your neighbor as yourself; act accordingly. But then, in examining these and similar passages, which bear so directly against slave-holding, we should remember, that it is not love, merely, which demands the immediate and total abolition of slavery in all its forms; for were love and kindness to be left entirely out of the question, the principles of equity and justice, if obeyed, would banish slavery from the church and from the world. But when the demands of justice are disregarded, then we may urge the principles of that sincere and affectionate regard which every Christian should feel towards his brother. And how can one who does really love God, and his neighbor, refuse obedience to the dictates of these principles as they are exhibited in this, and some of the following texts?

2. *Art thou a servant.*

The word here and elsewhere, (with but one exception) in the New Testament, rendered servant is δοῦλος, and "it often implies," says Dr. A. Clarke, "*a servant* in general; or any one bound to the service of another, either for a limited time, or for life." But it is doubtful whether this term was ever

used, either by Christ or any of the Apostles, to signify one who was the entire and absolute property of another, as the slaves of this land are held, for the following, among many reasons:

1. We know that Christ used this word to signify such as were not, and from the facts stated in the case, they could not have been the entire property of another. See Matt. xviii, 23—35. Here we have an account of a δοῦλος, servant, who was so much in his master's debt, that he commanded him to be sold, and payment to be made, which would not have been done had he been the absolute property of his master.

Slaves in Athens, who were held as the entire property of a master, were called *οἰκέται*, but after their freedom was granted them, they were called δοῦλοι, not being like the former a part of the master's estate, but only required to render some small service, such as was required of the *μέτοικοι*, resident *strangers* or *aliens*, to whom in some respects, they were inferior. This the reader will learn by consulting Dr. W. Robinson's Antiquities of Greece, page 36; and Potter's Grecian Antiquities, Vol. I, page 18; and see also an article in the Bib. Repository, for Jan. 1835, "On Slavery in Ancient Greece."

Now when we consider that the Attic Greek is substantially the language in which the New Testament was written, it seems the Apostles must have used the word δοῦλος, to signify a *freedman*, according to the authorities above quoted, and not one who was the entire property of another.

2. But it may be observed here, and once for all, that, if the Apostles used the word δοῦλος, to signify one who was the entire property of another, in the highest sense in which slaves were held as such among the Greeks and Romans, and if their directions to masters and their servants, are to be taken as a

justification of the relation which the Roman and Grecian laws and customs established between such, then it must follow that they justified everything which it authorized the master to do; for how could they justify the "relation" without justifying the parts of which it was composed? That relation authorized the master to do anything and everything to the person of his slave or "chattel" which he chose. He might scourge him, maim him, and even put him to death at his pleasure, and in doing these things he did not abuse this relation, but he exercised the civil rights which it conferred upon him. Nor indeed, was it the abuse of this relation which the apostle forbid, when he commanded his master to give unto his slaves that which was just and equal, for, according to Dr. Taylor's "Elements of Civil Law," this relation among the Romans could not be abused in any way! Now it is allowed by all those who attempt to justify slavery from the Bible, that the Apostles did positively forbid some things which this relation gave every master the right to do; and hence it follows, as a consequence which cannot be denied, that the Apostles did positively forbid and condemn the relation which allowed them. How could the Apostles forbid theft, without condemning at the same time the law which allows it? How could they condemn murder or adultery, without condemning at the same time the law which allows and justifies these crimes.

3. But many persons of the present day imagine that all the real objections which can now be brought against holding property in man, arise from the abuse of the relation which exists between the master and the enslaved; this, however, is a very great mistake. We do not argue against the abuse of this relation, nor, indeed, do we found our arguments against it upon the abuses of it, nor its liability to be abused; nay, it is the abuse of the relation, and its utter annihilation for which

we contend. For this relation, it must be remembered, allows and justifies the master in doing what the word of God forbids, and it not only allows of such things, but it makes it the master's duty to do them, and it imposes a penalty upon him if he leaves them undone! This relation makes it the master's duty to take the fruit of his neighbor's services — to crush his mind with ignorance — to prevent him from obeying the command of God, which obligates all men to search the Holy Scriptures. Many other things this "relation" says the master may do, and these and many other wicked things it says the master *must* do, and in doing them he does not *abuse* the relation, but he *fulfills* it? and if he fulfills it, as the law makes it his duty to do, he does all in his power to oppress and crush the immortal mind of one of God's intelligent creatures, and so far as this relation is fulfilled and obeyed, its influence goes to send him down to the miseries of an eternal hell. Hence we say, that the relation is malum in se, so far as any relation can be which God has forbidden; and it seems not a little remarkable, that those who quote passages from the New Testament to show that the Apostles justified this relation, seem never to have imagined that it belonged to them to show how the Apostles could condemn the fruit of this relation, and yet not condemn the relation itself. And this every man should do before he attempts to justify this relation from anything which the Apostles have said, concerning any who may possibly have held it.

But even admitting that the δοῦλοι of whom the Apostles speak, in the following passages, were held as the property of their masters, even this relation is condemned, as the reader will see.

"It has been sometimes said that the "*New Testament does not condemn slave-holding in express terms.*" And the practice has been advocated, because it has not been thus

denounced. If this assertion were true, and if the Bible only *virtually* denounced it, it would be a sin. No man can righteously continue a practice which God disapproves of, no matter in what form the disapproval is expressed. But the assertion is not true. The New Testament does condemn slave-holding, as practiced among us, in the most explicit terms, furnished by the language in which the inspired penmen wrote. If a physician, after a minute examination, should tell a patient that his every limb and organ was diseased — if he should enumerate the various parts of his bodily system, the arms, the legs, the head, the stomach, the bowels, &c., and should say of each one of these parts distinctly that it was unsound; could the man depart and say, "After all, I am not diseased; for the physician has not said in *express terms* that my *body* is unsound?" Has he not received a more clear and express declaration of his entirely diseased condition, than if he had been told in merely general terms that his body was unsound? Thus has God condemned slavery. He has specified the parts which compose it, and denounced them, one by one, in most ample and unequivocal form. In the English language we have the term *servant*, which apply indiscriminately both to those held in voluntary subjection to another, and to those whose subjection is involuntary. We have also the term *slave* which is applicable exclusively to those held in involuntary subjection. The Greek language had a word corresponding exactly in signification with our word servant; but it had none that answered precisely to our term slave. The words oiketes, andrapodon, are those which most nearly correspond, in the idea which they present, with our word slave. But oiketes properly signifies a *domestic*; and andrapodon, *one taken and enslaved in war*. The inspired writers could not have denounced *our sort of slavery*, by using either of these words. If they had forbidden us to

hold oiketai, they would have forbidden us the use of all domestics — if they had forbidden us to hold andrapoda, they might have been interpreted as forbidding our use only of such *slaves as had been taken and enslaved in war.* How then was an Apostle, writing in Greek, to condemn our slavery? Could it be done in the way in which some seem to think it must be done, before they will be convinced of its sinfulness? How can we expect to find in Scripture the words "slavery is sinful," when the language in which it is written contained no term which expressed the meaning of our word slavery? Would the advocates of slavery wish us to show that the Apostles declare it to be unchristian to hold servants (douloi)? This would have been denouncing, as criminal, practices far different from slave-holding. But inspiration taught the holy penmen the only correct and efficacious method of conveying their condemnation of this unchristian system. They pronounce of each one of those several things which constitute slavery, that it is sinful; thus clearly and forever denouncing the system, wherever it might appear, and whatever name it might assume. If a writer should take up each part of our Federal Constitution separately, and condemn it article by article, who would have the folly to assert that, after all, he had *not expressly condemned the Constitution?* — [Lynch of Kentucky.]

2. *Care not for it.*

That is, do not let this hinder you from accepting of salvation at the hand of God. *But if thou mayest be made free, use it rather.*

The following remarks on this passage, I believe, are from the pen of the Rev. Beriah Green:

In his letter to the Corinthian Church, the Apostle Paul addressed himself freely to servants. ... Would the abettor and supporters of American slavery allow him such a privilege?

2. He teaches them to rise if possible to a state of freedom. Would the abettors and supporters of American slavery permit him to impress such a lesson on their slaves? Would they not rather brand him as a fanatic; reproach him as an incendiary; inflict upon him the penalty of Lynch law?

3. He teaches them to regard themselves as entitled to the benefits of freemen — and freemen of the most dignified and exalted character. Would the abettor and supporter of American slavery allow his slave to listen to such language? No fears would he have, that they might fall out with their chains, put on airs, and get above their proper places?

4. He charges them, by all the regard they had for their Redeemer, "to refuse to be the servants of men." Strong and startling language! Would the abettor and supporter of American Slavery permit such an exhortation to fall upon the open ears of his slave? Would he not regard it as subversive of the system by which they are held in bonds?

As they value the blood which was shed for their redemption, they may not be "the servants of men!" And this language every servant must interpret for himself! Might he not regard it as a warrant to cast away his fetters? Will the abetter and supporter of American slavery permit his vassals to try their skill at exposition on this passage? If not, perhaps he would consent to hear *father Flatt*, a German commentator of excellent spirit and high reputation, explain it. I have ventured to translate a paragraph, in which he offers his views of its meaning. "Be not such servants of men, that ye cannot at the same time be the freemen of the Lord. Be not the slaves of men, who would force upon you wrong opinions: 1 Cor. i, 12; Col. ii, 8, who would use you as the means of gratifying their passions, or of accomplishing their selfish objects: 2 Cor. ii, 20. Do nothing which is contrary to your dignity or to obedience to God from sinful compliance

to others or from fear." For the benefit of southern booksellers, who may be anxious to enrich their stalls with this book, I give its title: "*Vorle sungen ueber die beyden Briefe an die Corinthier.*

It is very certain that the Apostle requires servants to prefer death to obedience to such injunctions as might hinder their progress in the Christian life. Whatever might contribute to enlighten their minds and quicken their consciences and increase their usefulness, they were eager to lay hold of—and this, at whatever expense. The master, who would cripple, or embarrass, or discourage them in so doing, they must resist, and resist at the hazard of their lives. This clearly is the doctrine which the Apostle Paul requires them to receive.

Southern tyrants have their reasons for withholding their Bible from the slave. It is most manifestly and irreconcilably against the oppression they practice. They would b n it over a slow fire sooner than put it into the hands of their bondmen. Their impudence is only equalled by their hypocrisy, in blasphemously pretending that such a book is friendly to oppression. With this pretence upon their lips, they make laws to prevent their slaves from reading it! What do they fear? That it will make these wretched men too well pleased with their condition? No. They know that it would light up in their bosoms such a flame as the waters of the Mississippi could not quench. B. G.

4. *Seeketh not her own.*

The love of God leads all who possess it, to seek for the highest possible good of all with whom they have to do. "But," says one, "it is the highest possible good of the slave that I should keep him in slavery, because, if I were to set him free, he would soon fall into the hands of another master, who might not treat him as well as I do." Now, admitting this to be true, in any given case, it would not, and

could not follow from it, that the slave should not have his rights restored to him. That which might be the greatest possible good to one individual slave, might, at the same time, be the greatest possible injury to the whole of the slave population as a class. And, besides, does it follow, that because another will rob my neighbor of his liberty and the fruit of his labor, that therefore I ought to do it, because I think I can do the work more *mildly* and *Christian-like* than he can? If, as it is sometimes thought, a Christian ought to hold his species in bondage, because if he does not do this they will become slaves to another master worse than he, then does it not follow, that Christians, ministers, legislators, and the very best men in the nation, should take the management of all the theatres and gambling houses in the country, into their hands? Should they not do all the murdering, thieving, and highway robbery, in order to have it done respectably, Christian-like, and in the mildest and best manner possible? If they do not do these things themselves, you know bad men will!

5. *Endureth all things.*

But many professing Christians do not possess enough of this heavenly virtue to enable them to bear the contumely which they fear would be cast upon them, were they to do justice to those whom they have wronged!

6. *By love serve one another.*

You have been made free from the ceremonial law and from sin by the gospel of Jesus Christ, and now it becomes your duty to serve one another, for in this way you are to fulfill the law of God. The Greek word, we have seen, which signifies a servant or slave is δοῦλος, and from this word we have the one in the text, which is rendered *serve*; δουλεύετε, *serve*, in the performance of Christian duties, to one another. Hence it is the duty of every man professing the Christian name, in this sense, to become the servant of those whom he

holds in bondage; this is the kind of servitude which is advocated in the Christian Scriptures; and, accordingly, the Bible informs us that Joshua was the servant of Moses, Elisha was the servant of Elijah, and St. Paul, St. Peter, and the other Apostles were servants of Jesus Christ, and Christ was the servant of God.

7. *Lowliness and meekness.*

How does the idea of meekness and Christian humility agree with that of a soul-driver, or slave-holder?

8. *Kind — tender-hearted.*

And many slave-holders think they are so, because they are not so cruel and hard-hearted towards their slaves as some others. But how very kind, how tender-hearted one may be in comparison with another, when both of them withhold from you your personal liberty and take from you the fruit of your labor, it may not, indeed, be very easy to tell. However, that there are slave-holders, soul-drivers, and dealers in human souls, who may be called kind, and tender-hearted, and Christians, when compared with others who might be named, no one will pretend to deny. O that they were kind and tender-hearted enough to restore to their poor slaves the rights of which they have so unjustly defrauded them!

9. *Be obedient to them that are your masters.*

This is the language which all abolitionists at the present day would use, were they permitted to have access to the slaves of this land. We could but enjoin it upon them to be patient and faithful. Our labor for their freedom is with God, and those who oppress them.

10. *Do the same things unto them.*

Here is the rule for the masters; and how soon their slaves would "go free" were it to be faithfully obeyed! No doubt the slaves at the south often hear their duties explained and enforced from the above, and some of the following passages in

this chapter; but it is not so evident that the duty of the master is as often enforced from this and similar texts.

11. *Better than themselves.*

The natural tendency of slavery upon the minds of the enslavers, is to lead them to think themselves better than others; thus the spirit of the gospel is reversed and counteracted. See the testimony of President Jefferson to this point, Chap. vi, page 69.

12. *Think on these things.*

For all of them are required by the gospel which you profess to love. But is there anything which is agreeable to the principles of unchangeable and eternal *truth* in slavery? Is there any honesty in it? any purity? anything lovely, or of good report in the system, when "stripped of its abuses?" Then should we think of it, — we should *defend* it and *pray* for its continuance. Reader, perhaps you may have heard some one attempt to justify the system of slavery from the Bible, but did you ever hear any Christian or Christian minister pray for its continuance and prosperity? And why not? If it is right, if it is just, if it is consistent, why not pray for it to prosper and continue as long as the world endures?

13. *That which is just and equal.*

We have before seen that upon the supposition that the masters to whom the Apostles gave this and similar directions, held their servants as their property "to all intents and purposes whatsoever," then it must follow that this and similar commands must have been understood as a virtual condemnation of that "relation" which this right created between them; but no relation is condemned in these passages which does not allow the things which are here and elsewhere forbidden; hence, if the right of property in man were to cease this moment throughout this nation, there would be the same necessity for the commands and directions which are laid down

in the New Testament for the instruction of servants and their masters; and if all masters do now obey this command of God towards their servants, they will pay them for their labor, and instruct them and prepare them as far as it is in their power to do it, for usefulness in the world. They will cease to hold them as property, and compel no one to work for him against his will. "But the laws will not suffer me to do this; I must obey the laws." What! must you obey those laws which contravene the laws of God! Did the prophet Daniel do so, when the government where he lived passed a law, under a severe penalty, that he should not pray to the God of Heaven?

Now when Daniel knew that the writing was signed, he went into his house; and his windows being open in his chamber toward Jerusalem, he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks before his God, as he did aforetime. Dan. vi, 10. It is really too plain to need illustration, that if it would now be wrong for any of the enslavers to disobey the laws of the States where they live, which forbid them from instructing the slaves to read the word of God, and from paying them for their labor, then it was wrong for Daniel to pray to the God of Heaven as he did, and it was also wrong for his companions to refuse to worship the golden image which the king had set up; and it was wrong also for the Apostles to "preach Christ and the resurrection," after they had been forbidden by the rulers, and scourged for so doing. See Acts iv, 19, and v, 29.

The following remarks on this passage are well worthy of the reader's attention:

Masters, give unto your servants that which is *just* and *equal*—Col. iv, 1. To dikaion kaiten isoteta—pareches-the. *Impart justice and equity to your servants.* The first word in the original rendered *justice*, is a legal term, and

must refer to some law, rule, or usage. When we say a thing is just, we immediately compare it in our minds to some standard. Now what is the standard in this case?

1. *It cannot refer to any slave code*, specifically revealed from Heaven for the government of slaves as a distinct class from free men; because no such specific code can be found in the Bible. The precepts of the New Testament are given to the whole race, without granting exclusive privileges to any one class in particular, and are all founded on the principles of substantial equity to every individual.

2. If the word in question referred to any law or usage of slaves among heathens, it must refer to that which was in practice at the time and in the country in which the Apostle wrote. By both law and usage of the Greeks and Romans, "masters were permitted to torture their slaves, to starve them, to beat them to death, and even to throw them into their fish ponds, to give an epicurian flavor to the millets which they were fattening for their feasts." It was according to the usage of slavery, in the days of the Apostles, to treat them as beasts, to sell them, to transfer or pawn them as goods or chattels.—they were deemed incapable of injury, and could seek no redress of wrongs under any circumstances. Now if the Apostle meant that masters should only "give to their servants that which was 'just,' according to the usage among heathen slaves," then he must refer to the usage of that system, which we have described with all its horrors. This would prove more than many of the advocates of slavery, at the present day, require. It would prove—1, That the gospel sanctions the whole of the above system, with all its atrocities and murders. 2, That it allowed the continuation of it; and, 3, That it actually made the above usages or laws the standard and pattern after which succeeding Christians were to copy. Now, would it not be an insult to the God of justice

and purity, to suppose that he held up this system of Greek and Roman slavery as the standard by which the Christian was to administer justice to his brother in the Lord ?

In the absence, then, of all evidence to the contrary, we believe that this direction — give to your servants that which is just — has a reference in this case, as in all others, to the common law of Heaven, which commands all men, without distinction, "to keep judgment and do justice, for God is no respecter of persons." On what authority dare we say that this standing law of God does not apply to slaves? There is no such an intimation in all the Bible. It would be making the word of God of no effect, by our custom or tradition, to affirm that it did apply to slaves. And no sophistry can persuade us that we fulfill this law to them, while we keep back the reward of their wages. Indeed, the idea of giving to a slave a just and equal compensation for his labor, never once enters into the minds of those who hold them in bondage.

The Lord saith — "The hire of your laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth," and have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.

So, then, we find, in analyzing the first item of the master's duty, that the exercise of the most simple and obvious principles of justice would necessarily subvert the whole system.

Second item in the master's duty: — Give unto your servants that which is equal. The word *esoteta* signifies *equality* — parity; and, according to Donegan, an equality of political rights and privileges. This is a relative term, and must relate to some person, class, or grade in society. The master must give equal to something. What is this to which he must give equal?

1. It cannot mean that Christian masters were only to give

their servants that which would come up to, or was equal to that which the heathens gave theirs. This we have already disproved, and the supposition itself would be preposterous to every Christian.

2. It cannot mean what was equal to the condition of some inferior grade or caste, distinct from other men who were not under the general law of God, because none such is described in his word. The Brahmins, more consistent than some Christians, assert that some whole races, or castes, are made by the Almighty to serve, and others to govern; but the Bible asserts, on the contrary, all to be members of one great family, and to stand in the relation of substantial equality to each other.

3. We believe that *equal* refers, not to what heathens gave their slaves, or what was given to a supposed inferior grade, but that it refers simply to masters themselves;—that is, that the converted master, knowing with God there was no respecter of persons, and that the slave was, or might be, a brother beloved, and equal partaker of the common benefit of the gospel, he was, therefore, to concede to him an equal right with himself, to use those talents and advantages with which Heaven had endowed him. Now, by referring the term equal to the masters, in this sense, we do not array the commandments of God against each other, which we are obliged to do upon any other supposition. And this view of the subject is at once consistent with the whole scope of revelation, which regards men as standing to each other in the relation of equality. Observe, not an equality of condition, but simply an equality of *right*. In respect to condition, there is almost an infinite diversity; no two are alike; the one is rich, the other poor; the one has the full exercise of his limbs, while the other was born maimed and decripit. But, as Professor Wayland observes, "viewed in another light, all

men are placed under circumstances of perfect equality. Each separate individual is created with precisely the same right to use the advantages with which God has endowed him. This proposition seems to me, in its nature, so self-evident as almost to preclude the possibility of argument. The only reason that I can conceive, on which any one could found a plea for inequality of right, must be an inequality of condition. But this can manifestly create no diversity of right. I may have been endowed with better sight than my neighbor; but this evidently gives me no right to put out his eyes, or interfere with his right to derive from them whatever happiness his creator has placed within his power." If superiority of condition give superiority of right, then in every case the strong have a right to the labor of the weak, and of course to coerce them to perform it. But this is so glaringly absurd, that it reverses, at once, all our ideas of moral rectitude; and this principle, if carried out in practice, would make our whole world the arena of strife and battle. But this principle, so preposterous in itself, is the true and only spirit of slavery. Let the master, "believing," infidel, or otherwise, only obey one of the plainest precepts of Revelation or morality, to give that which is just and equal, and slavery with the observance, dies to exist no more.

The third item is the master's duty — or the disposition with which he is to do it. *And ye masters do the same things unto them.* Eph. vi, 9 — dikaiou koi ten. These words refer more to the character of the action than to the particular things which were to be done. That is, the actions of the masters and servants were to partake equally of the same moral qualities.

1. The servant was to act in "singleness of heart." So also the master, having no sinister motives in his conduct, and treatment of the servant — having no regard to his own

profit or pleasure, above that of the servant, much less to seek the one at the destruction of the other; for he is to love him as himself. He was to take no advantage of what the law of the land might put in his power, for he was to remember that they had both one master in Heaven, who was constantly reminding him, that with Him *there was no respect of persons.*

2. The servant was to do the will of God from the heart, *honestly and fully*, not merely according to the letter, but to the spirit and intent of the command. So also the master. Now, the will of God is, that every man should be happy — that he should have the best means of pursuing it, and that he should have an opportunity of improving and elevating his moral condition. Can any one be said to do the will of God in the above manner, from the heart, while he keeps his fellow creature a prisoner for life, for every slave is a prisoner to a very considerable degree: while he gives him no wages for his labor, and while he dare not let him read the word of God, lest he should be so enlightened that he could not any longer easily hold him in bondage?

3. The servant was to do whatsoever he did as *unto the Lord.* That is, to glorify God in his body and spirit which were the Lord's. So also the master. The glory, honor, and cause of God were to be always before him, in all that he did. But was it ever intended by any one to glorify God by holding in slavery those for whom Christ died? Do such honor God? Do such make Christianity appear lovely in the eyes of the unconverted, the infidel, and heathen? About thirty years ago, a slave, a Mahamedan in religion, was sold in the city of Charleston, and bought by a *Methodist Class Leader.* His master persuaded him to turn Christian. He asked if Christians held Christians as slaves. When answered in the affirmative, he replied that Mahame-

dans would not do so; and this man, in the midst of a Christian country, spent a long life in the religion of the prophet, and died a Mahomedan! Did the man who held him *honor Christianity* in the eyes of the heathen? Or do these Christian ministers who contend for the "rightful existence of slavery," honor Christianity in the estimation of the ten thousand infidels of our land?

The fourth and last item in the master's duty — Forbear threatening. Anientes ten apeilen — *unloose, or dismiss threatening or coercion;* — the words may be so understood; for threatening is the setting forth pains and penalties to intimidate, as means to coerce one to do something.

There are *two* elements in government; one which operates on its subject *by fear*, and has not improperly been denominated *brute* government; the other operates not only by fear, but appeals, especially to the consciousness of right and wrong, in its subject, and is called *rational* government. In every species of slave government there is a constant appeal to *fear*, which fear can only be excited and sustained by threatening, or the setting forth of pains and penalties in case of disobedience. We do not say that the master is always, or even often threatening, but we do say that this is always implied, and that the system would not maintain itself without threatening, coercion, and the infliction of corporeal punishment, the very things which are forbidden by the Apostle.

This is so very evident, that all candid slave-holders avow it. Bryan Edwards, who wrote the history of the West-Indies, and who was an advocate for the "rightful existence of slavery," says — "In countries where slavery is established, the leading principle on which government is established is *fear;* or a sense of that absolute coercive necessity, which, having no choice of action, supersedes all question of *right.*"

It is in vain to deny that such actually is, and necessarily must be, the case in all countries where slavery is allowed.

God has implanted in our nature the appropriate incentive to work, which is the fruit of our labor; now, whenever this is taken away, (and slavery always takes it away) there must be some other incentive applied, which is threatening, or coercion, the very thing forbidden by the Apostle. It is true that in the case of the converted slave, from whom the master has taken away the natural incentive to labor, the Apostle presents another one, which is, that they are to look for a remuneration of their toil directly from Christ — *That they shall receive of the Lord — that they are the servants of Christ*, and are to expect their wages from the Lord, and not from man. This is found to be a powerful motive, and greatly mitigates the condition of the slave, and hence it is that most masters acknowledge that religious slaves do more work than others. The reason is obvious: they have an incentive presented to them, better than fear; but this by no means justifies the master in keeping back the hire of those who have reaped his fields.

It is madness, I might say real fanaticism, to imagine that we can change the laws of mind, or invert the order of God. God has given to every man, of whatever nation, color, or condition, an instinctive desire to direct himself, enjoy his liberty, and the fruit of his labor; and no system of man can change this constitution of our being.

We might as well suppose that all the trees of the forest, at our bidding, would grow horizontally with the ground, without the application of force to keep them down, as to suppose that man, constituted as God has made him, will labor without compulsion, when the fruit of his labor is withheld from him. It is utter folly to deceive ourselves; the element in slave-government is *fear*, excited and kept up by

"threatening," coercion, and infliction of pain — the very thing which is *forbidden* in our text. The writer of these remarks has been on five hundred plantations, and travelled more than nineteen thousand miles in slave-holding countries, and thinks he never was on but one, on which coercion was not in some form exercised, and this was that of the Hon. S. L. of O———, Louisiana. This gentleman, having recently renounced infidelity and embraced Christianity, became troubled on the subject of slavery, and having no minister of the gospel near him, who would plead for the "rightful existence of slavery," or attempt to bolster it up with "Scriptural arguments," he dismissed his overseer, and appointed John, one of his colored men, the manager; and let his people work the place on shares. All was harmony. There was no coercion; because things were reverting to the order which God established. During two years, the writer never heard the sound of a whip, or a cross word to one over twelve or fifteen years of age.

Now we think, in analyzing these items of the master's duty, that we have established the position, that the duties which the Apostle requires from masters and slaves are such that if they are both carried into effect, they must necessarily subvert the whole system of slavery. — [*Rev. Daniel DeVinnie.*]

15. *Except these bonds.*

It is not improbable that, when the Apostle uttered these words, he raised his hand or hands, so as to exhibit the chain with which he was bound; for the word here rendered *bonds*, signifies a chain or fetters with which a prisoner was confined. It seems that bondage was a blessing which the venerable Apostle did not wish should descend upon others, not even his enemies! How many thousands of poor slaves in this land, many of whom are members of the Christian church,

are compelled to wear the iron manacles; and when they pray, to stretch out their chained hands unto God.

"The slaves which pass down to the southern market on the Mississippi river, and through the interior, suffer great hardships. Those who are driven down by land, travel from two hundred to a thousand miles on foot. They sometimes carry heavy chains the whole distance. These chains are very massive. They extend from the hands to the feet, being fastened to the wrists and ancles by an iron ring round each. When chained, every slave carries two chains, that is, one from each hand to each foot." — [*H. B. Stanton.*]

17. *Obey in all things your masters.*

It has been before remarked, that, if this and similar precepts may be quoted to justify the power which the master usurps over his slaves, then the commands of Christ for the persecuted to pray for their persecutors may be referred to, to justify persecution; and by the same rule of interpretation, we might show that our forefathers sinned against God, in rebelling against the British government; and not only so, but that the people of this country have been sinning ever since, in maintaining that independence which they asserted! To such monstrous absurdities those principles lead, which the enslavers adopt in explaining the Scriptures so as to favor their system of oppression.

18. *Defraud his brother in any matter.*

One person may defraud another by corrupting his wife, or children; or by taking from him the fruit of his labor, or by withholding from him his personal liberty. To what lengths the poor slaves of this land have been defrauded, in all these respects, we must wait for the light of eternity to show.

19. *Men-stealers.*

But who are men-stealers? "Those *who carry on the traffic in human flesh and blood;* those who steal a person in or-

der to sell him into bondage; or those who buy such stolen men or women, no matter of what color or what country; or those who sow dissensions among barbarous tribes, in order that they who are taken in war may be sold into slavery. Or the nations who legalize, or connive at such traffic; all these are men-stealers, and God classes them with the most flagitious of mortals."—[*Dr. A. Clarke.*]

"Stealers of men are all those who bring off slaves or freemen, or keep, sell, or buy them. To steal a freeman is the highest kind of theft. The word used here, in its original import, comprehends all who are concerned in bringing any of the human race into slavery, or in detaining them in it" [*Presbyterian Conf. of Faith.*]

"Man-stealers! The worst of all thieves; in comparison of whom highway robbers, and house-breakers are innocent; and men-buyers are exactly on a level with men-stealers. That execrable sum of all villanies, commonly called the slave-trade, I read of nothing like it in the heathen world, whether ancient or modern, and it infinitely exceeds, in every instance of barbarity, whatever Christian slaves suffer in Mohamedan countries. Liberty is the right of every human creature as soon as he breathes the vital air, and no human law can deprive him of that right which he derives from the law of nature."—[*Rev. J. Wesley.*]

"Men-stealers are inserted among those daring criminals (see 1 Tim. i, 9, 10) against whom the law of God directed its awful curses. These kidnapped men to sell them for slaves; and this practice seems inseparable from the other iniquities and oppressions of slavery; nor can a slave-dealer keep free from this criminality if 'the receiver be as bad as the thief."—[*Scott.*]

"A Christian buying and selling slaves! A man who professes that the leading law of his life is to do as he would be

done by, spending his time and amassing a fortune by buying and selling his fellow-men." — [*Simpson*]

"They who make war for the inhuman purpose of selling the vanquished as slaves, are really men-stealers. And they who encourage that unchristian traffic by purchasing the slaves which they know to be thus unjustly acquired are partakers in their crime." — [*Macknight*]

And the *intention* to enslave men is put down as the same, or a similar crime by the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal church. "The buying and selling, [this rule formerly read *The buying or selling*] of men, women, and children, with an *intention* to enslave them." — [*Dis. Ch. 2, Sec. 1.*]

It certainly cannot make material difference as to the manner of one's coming into the possession of men, women, and children, whether he buys them or receives them from another as a gift, or whether he takes possession of them by virtue of their birth, if it is his intention to enslave them; the Discipline of the M. E. church pronounces him an impenitent sinner.

20. *Worthy of all honor.*

Christianity does not alter the relation which the laws of a land causes one man to sustain to another. If the laws are wrong, the only way by which even the Gospel can change them is, by rendering those wiser and better who make them, and by giving those grace and patience whom these laws injure and oppress. There is a difference between what the laws of a land require one to do, and that which they compel him to suffer; the former may be sinful, the latter not. It may be the duty of the slaves at the south to submit to the evils which the laws so unjustly inflict upon them, and in doing this, God has promised to reward them, if they do it with a view to his glory; while those who make and support these wicked laws by enslaving and oppressing their species, sin against God.

21. *And they that have believing masters.*

"Here, it is said, we certainly have masters of slaves recognized as Christian brethren; for the word used is *despotes*. But let us look at the passage critically, and see what it amounts to. The apostle addresses first those servants (*douloi*,) who are yet under the yoke. Here we see a reference at once to two classes of servants, those who are under the yoke and those who are not. The servants under the yoke are doubtless slaves. Hence we see that all servants were not slaves. He then contrasts the condition and duties of those servants who are under the yoke with those who have believing masters, from which we infer that those who were yet under the yoke were understood of course as being in the hands of unbelieving masters. If the servants of believing masters must be yet under the yoke, the distinction the Apostle makes is annihilated. The distinction is plainly grounded on this principle, that those servants who had believing masters were no longer held under the yoke as slaves. Those who were under the yoke, then, were those who had heathen masters. *These* the Apostle exhorts to bear their burden for *the honor of religion*, and to conduct in such a manner that their unbelieving masters shall not find even an occasion to blaspheme their religion.

"But to the servants who had believing masters, his exhortation is different, and enforced by different motives. It would seem to be the understanding then, that when a slaveholder became a believer, his slaves were of course then free, to go or stay as they chose. But the Apostle exhorts them, on the ground of Christian love, not to despise their old masters, and hasten away from their service, but to remain and serve them voluntarily, because they have now become faithful brethren, and would of course allow them a reasonable share of the profits or benefits of their labor. The Apostle

knew what was in man ; he knew that a servant who had felt the oppressions of slavery would be under a strong temptation to despise the authority of a penitent master, and hasten away from his service as soon as possible. He therefore exhorts them to a more Christian spirit — to stay cheerfully, and labor in his service from love, because the master is now a brother. You see this carries out the contrast between the servants under the yoke and servants who had believing masters. It shows that it was expected as a matter of course, that when a slave-holder became a believer he would let his slaves go free, so far as he had any authority or ownership over them, and therefore the former slaves are exhorted still to do them service, and to promote their interests. His exhortation to this class is to 'do them service,' which shows that they were free to serve them or not. In the other case, his exhortation refers to the manner and temper in which they should serve, showing that as to the service itself, those who were under the yoke had no option.

"But, it will be said, the Apostle calls them believing *despotes*, and therefore we must infer that a man might be a believer and still remain a despotes or slaveholder. But it does not follow. The term *despotes*, therefore, is proper to describe the person and the former relation. If we should say such a man was a reformed drunkard, we should not intend to be understood that he is a drunkard still, but only describe his former condition. If the speaker should say that as an abolitionist, he is a converted slave-holder, it would be a case exactly parallel.

"It is said that the word rendered servant means slave; but it is not so ; the word is *doulos*, and it means servant. It is true, all slaves are servants, but all servants are not slaves. The Apostle in the sixth chapter of Timothy, when he wishes to address Christian servants who were slaves, *adds* the de-

scription 'under the yoke' And in 1 Peter, ii, 18, where he is addressing the servants of *despotes*, he uses a different word, not *douloi*, but *oiketai* — and it ought to read, 'Slaves, obey your masters with all respect, not only the kind and good, but the cruel.'

"The Apostle Paul often calls himself the servant (*doulos*) of his brethren. Was he their slave, their property? Christians call themselves the servants of Jesus Christ. What is the allusion here? Is it to degrading heathen slavery? Not at all. In Romans xiv, 19, the Apostle Paul says, 'For to this end Christ both died and rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and the living' — that is, that he might stand in the relation and exercise the office of a master, (*kyrios.*) What does it mean? That Jesus might have a right of property in them? He had that before, in perfection. It is an allusion to the Jewish law of redemption. When one of the younger members of a family had become embarrassed and in debt, and obliged to sell or rather hire himself out as a servant, the elder brother, or head of the family, had the legal right at any time to buy him out of this servitude to a stranger, or redeem him, and then he became his lord (*kyrios*) and was bound to employ him and furnish him with all that he needed, till the day of release. Jesus Christ, then, by his death and resurrection, acquired a right which he had not before, to be an elder brother, and to exercise this lordship, in preparing them for that enlarged and glorified state in Heaven. Is there anything in this that looks like slavery? When the Apostles and primitive Christians called themselves the servants of Jesus Christ, and called him their Lord, there was something in it that thrilled their hearts. It was not the forbidding allusion to the idea of a slave-holder buying poor wretches in the market as property, but the idea of an elder brother sacrificing himself to become the redeemer

of his brethren. O, how I long to see this precious Bible rescued from the slanders which are heaped upon it. Men, with their minds filled with the ideas of American slavery, perfect heathenism in all its principles, undertake to interpret the Bible on such principles, and they derive doctrines from it, from which human nature starts back with horror. Those notions are all wrong, reproachful to the Scriptures, and exceedingly prejudicial to Christianity itself." — [*Rev. James H. Dickey.*]

22. *Above a servant; a brother.*

And if all the slaves in this land were to run away from their masters, there is not a true abolitionist in the world, but who would consent for them to return again, on the conditions that they should be received and treated by their former master, as Philemon is here commanded to receive Onesimus. It seems that Onesimus had been a servant to Philemon, and that, for some cause which is not mentioned, he left his master while in his debt. "If he hath wronged thee or oweth thee aught, put that to mine account." But having been converted to God under the labors of St. Paul, he directed him to return, and he wrote this Epistle in order to facilitate the adjustment of their difficulty. But Onesimus was not now to be received as a slave, but above a slave, as a *brother beloved*, even as the "aged Apostle" himself.

23. *Remember them that are in bonds.*

Those that are imprisoned for the testimony of Jesus, and all such as are kidnapped from their birth, and held during their whole lives in an unjust and violent bondage. Remember the rights, the privileges and the blessings of which they are deprived; remember it is the natural and direct tendency of the system which oppresses them, to keep from their undying souls the lights of science and religion, to crush their immortal minds, and shut them out of Heaven. Remember

them, — feel for them as you would wish others to feel for you, were you in their condition; pray for them, — pray for those who oppress them, — and pray for all those who do not remember them, but who censure and oppose those who endeavor to obey this command of the infinite God. *Remember them that are in bonds!*

CHAPTER XII.

ST. JAMES, ST. PETER, AND ST. JOHN.

Slave-holding is further shown to be a sin, by others of the Apostles — and we have the testimony of God, that the system shall finally and utterly come to an end.

1. Do not rich men oppress you? If ye fulfill the royal law, according to the Scripture — Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself — ye do well; but if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin; and are convinced of the law as transgressors. James ii, 6.

2. For whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all. James ii, 10.

3. For he shall have judgment without mercy,

that hath showed no mercy, and mercy rejoiceth against judgment. James ii, 13.

4. But the wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy. James iii, 17.

5. Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. James v, 1.

6. Behold, the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped, are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. James v, 4.

7. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts as in a day of slaughter. Ye have condemned and killed the just; and he doth not resist you. James v, 5.

8. And many shall follow their pernicious ways: by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of. And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you; whose judgment now of a long time lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not. 2 Peter ii, 2.

9. Servants, be subject to your masters with all

fear; not only to the good and the gentle, but also to the froward. For this is thankworthy, if a man for conscience toward God, endure grief, suffering wrongfully. 1 Peter ii, 18.

10. Finally, be ye all of one mind, having compassion one of another; love as brethren, be pitiful, be courteous. 1 Peter iii, 8.

11. We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren. He that loveth not his brother abideth in death. 1 John iii, 14.

12. Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us; and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren. 1 John iii, 16.

13. But whoso hath the world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him? 1 John iii, 17.

14. If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar; for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen? 1 John iv, 20.

15. If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed; for he that biddeth him God speed, is partaker of his evil deeds. 2 John, 10.

16. And the merchants of the earth shall weep

and mourn — for no man buyeth their merchandise any more; — the merchandise of — beasts, and sheep, and horses, and slaves, and souls of men. Rev. xviii, 11 — 13.

NOTES ON CHAPTER XII.

1. *Do not rich men oppress you.*

And how exceedingly oppressed millions of our fellow citizens in this nation must necessarily be, in those States where their oath is not allowed in a court of justice, against a white man! Whether in a case of theft, rape, murder, or any other crime, the solemn testimony of a thousand persons with a colored skin, when against a white person, goes for nothing!

2. *He is guilty of all.*

He is as really guilty in the sight of God, who breaks *one* of his commands, as though he broke every one of them; though he may not incur so much guilt. So we must conclude of persons who profess the Christian religion, and who at the same time indulge in habits which are contrary to the precepts and spirit of the gospel, such as making, vending, and using intoxicating liquors, visiting theatres, gambling in lotteries, and holding the human species in bondage; but which of these sins are most heinous in the sight of God, is another question; but it is sufficiently evident that each of them are transgressions of the Divine law, and he who commits either one of them is as really guilty of resisting the authority of God, as if he committed them all.

3. *For he shall have judgment.*

The following fact (which is but one of a thousand of the kind which might be given) may serve to illustrate the first clause of this passage:

"A master had repeatedly promised to manumit one of his slaves, who was an excellent black-smith, but he had as often violated his promise. The slave, elated with the hope of freedom, had worked earlier, later, and harder, till at length, however, his heart grew sick, and disappointment, sharper than a serpent's tooth, relaxed the sinews of his arm, and poisoned his coarse and scanty fare. The master, to revive his spirits and restore his vigor, finally promised with unwonted solemnity, that if he would earn, by extra labor, a certain sum of money, amounting to several hundred dollars, he should be *free*. The slave fell to work once more with redoubled energy. He toiled long and hard, and at last the blessed day dawned, on which, according to the stipulation of his master, he was to be enfranchised. But that treacherous and brutal individual, before the day arrived, had sold him to a slave-trader to be carried away to New-Orleans, and on that day he was destined to receive, not his promised pardon, but a new suit of chains.

"The heart-striken man told his tale to the trader; how he had been promised his freedom — how he had toiled — what cherished and often deferred hopes would be blasted forever. He entreated him in the most touching language, to renounce the sacrilegious bargain, — but in vain. Finally, seeing that his prayers and tears were disregarded, he became desperate, and told the dealer that if he did take him, one or the other of them must die, and that he then gave him fair warning. The trader was highly diverted, and said 'he liked such a spirited fellow.' He went on board a vessel, and, during a serene evening in that delicious climate, the trader reposed himself upon the deck. In the dead of the night, the slave contrived to rid himself of his hand-cuffs, and groped until he grasped a heavy hand-spike, and, thus armed, stood over the sleeping man. He waked him and told his purpose. 'Then God

have mercy on me,' said the trader. 'God will not have mercy on you, neither will I,' said the slave, and dashed out his brains."—[*D. L. Child, Esq.*]

5. *Shall eat your flesh as it were fire.*

What fearful language is here! Alas! for those who are so aptly described in the following verse, and to which these fearful denunciations, by the inspired writer, are applied.

6. *Kept back by fraud.*

Let the reader say whose fields are tilled and reaped by those to whom no wages are paid, in this land. See Chap. ii, 26, and vii, 5. If *slave-holding* is not set down as a *sin* against God in this passage, and the others here referred to, then no sin is described in any part of the Bible.

8. *By reason of whom, &c.*

When persons err who profess the Christian religion, it gives the greatest occasion for the wicked and unbelieving to speak evil of Christianity. Hence it is that the example of Christians who make, vend, and use ardent spirit, as an article of living or luxury, is so much deplored by all the true friends of the temperance cause; and hence also it is, that the example of Christians who enslave their species, tends, in so great a degree, to perpetuate the slavery system. As long as wicked and unprincipled men can refer to the example of slave-holding ministers and members of the Christian church, just so long slavery and the slave-trade will be continued.

9. *Be subject to your masters.*

See the note on Chap. x, 9. "Even a *slave*, if a Christian, was bound to serve him faithfully by whose money he was bought, however illegal that traffic may be considered. In heathen countries, slavery was in some sort excusable; but among Christians it is an enormity and a crime, for which perdition has scarcely an adequate state of punishment."—[*Dr. A. Clarke.*]

Here the word rendered servants is *οἰκέται*, which signifies *household servants*; but even this word does not necessarily imply those who were the entire property of another; it is true that *οἰκειης* had this signification sometimes among the Greeks, but not always; and the reasons before assigned show that it is by no means certain that this is the sense in which this word is used here. It occurs but in three other places in the New Testament, and in one of them the reader will perceive at once that it could not have been used to signify one who was held as the entire property of another. This is Luke xvi, 13. See also Acts x, 7. Rom. xiv, 4.

"We are told that slavery is a very delicate subject, and a political subject, and that the Apostles (very properly, it is also said) did not meddle with the relation at all, but left it to the laws of human society to regulate, and that they received both masters and slaves into the church together, without any change in the relation, and that they got along with it as well as they could in this way. Now where is the proof of all this?

"For proof we are commonly referred to those passages in which the Apostles prescribed the duties of masters and servants, where they told servants to be obedient to their masters, and masters to remember that they also had a master in Heaven, and so on. But what does this prove? It takes for granted — what cannot be proved, and what is not true, and is contrary to known historical fact and the use of language — that *all* servants were slaves and *all* masters slave-holders. Whereas, the fact is, there were two distinct relations of servitude. And there were also two classes of masters, described by two different terms in Greek, though all are called by the same word, *masters*, in our English translation. The Apostles always used the words correctly and in a discriminating manner. The two words used in Greek are *kyrios* and *des-*

potes. The first, *kyrios*, is a title of respect, denoting either authority or worth. Sarah used the term in addressing her husband. Mary addressed it to the gardner at the sepulchre; the jailor of Phillippi to the Apostles, &c. The same term is proper to be used of any master, or person who employs others in his service, whether they are hired laborers, or servants, or apprentices. These masters, *kyrioi*, are addressed as Christians, and exhorted to be just and render to their servants that which is just and equal. And all the servants of such are exhorted to be obedient heartily and with good will.

"But the word for slave-holder is *despotes*. And when the Apostle speaks to the servants of a *despotes*, he summons up all the Christian sympathies, and exhorts them to be patient under their trials, and points them forward to the blessed hope of the gospel beyond the grave. The passage is interesting and instructive. See 1 Pet. ii, 18 — 25.

Servants, (*oiketai* — slaves, not *douloi* — servants — the translators ought to have made the distinction as plain in English as it is in Greek) be subject to your (*despotais*) masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward. For this is thank-worthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it, if, when ye be buffetted for your faults ye shall take it patiently? but if, when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God. For even herennto were ye called; because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that ye should follow his steps: who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth: who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not; but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously: who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we, being dead to sins, should live unto righteousness: by whose stripes ye were healed. For ye were as sheep going

astray ; but are now returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls.

"But you see here he does not turn round and tell the *despotes* how to treat his slaves. God never regulates sin, nor teaches us how to do wrong, how to steal, or oppress, or to do any other wickedness. The Bible never speaks to a *despotes* as a brother in the church. It tells them to undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free. And in case they do not heed the admonition, it tells them the hire of their laborers, who have reaped down their fields, which is kept back by fraud, crieth, and the cries are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.

"It is not true that the Apostles addressed slave-holders as Christian brethren, as has been often asserted. On the contrary, I maintain that they must have taken it for granted, that as soon as a slave master became a Christian he would let his slaves go free, as a matter of course. I defy the world to prove that there ever was a slave-master admitted and tolerated in the Christian church, until after the Bishop of Rome sanctioned it, when he divided Africa between Portugal and Spain. The very fact that Christianity uniformly extinguished slavery wherever it came, is proof that the Apostles and early laborers preached in such a manner that slavery could not exist in the church.

"And if you carefully study the writings of the Apostles, you will find that the whole spirit and tenor of them corresponds to this view. Hear what the Apostle Paul says, 1 Tim. i, 9, 10.

Knowing this, that the law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners, for unholy and profane, for murderers of fathers, and murderers of mothers, for man-slayers, for whoremongers, for them that defile themselves with mankind, for *men-stealers*,

for liars, for perjured persons, and if there be any other thing that is contrary to sound doctrine.

"Here it is observable that the word rendered men-stealers is not a word deacting an act of robbery, but an act of sale or traffic — men-traders, and properly marks those who exercise or claim property in men. These the law of God, as laid down by the Apostle Paul, classes along with 'murderers of fathers, and murderers of mothers,' with 'whoremongers,' with 'perjured persons,' and all the most abominable wickedness. Grotius, a scholar of the first rank, especially for critical skill in Greek, says it denotes all who *buy*, *sell*, or *retain* any person as property. There is no doubt that this sin existed among the heathen, as it does at this day. But will any person now say that the Apostles brought slave-holders into the church, and cherished them there as Christian brethren? Slave-holders and slavery-apologists may believe it; I cannot, till I have proof, 'strong as holy writ,' and that has never yet appeared."—[*Rev. James H. Dicky.*]

10. *Love as brethren.*

It is difficult to conceive what the Christian enslavers, at the south, do with this and similar passages of Scripture, as it is well known that a minister, in many places, cannot [illegible] for the law of love without being *suspected* of favorin[illegible] pation; and it must be remembered, that if any o[illegible] some of the States, do but make a *sign* or *utter one* [illegible] which may be construed as having such a design, o[illegible] ndency to this effect, he is liable to suffer death upon the [illegible]!

12. *We ought to lay down our lives for the brethren.*

It is a strange fact, that the wicked enslavers of the human species, such as make no pretensions to any religious principle in the regulation of their conduct, will never refuse to risk their lives in their efforts to keep the slaves in bondage, and yet how few, how very few professing Christians and Christian

ministers are found, who will run even the hazard of losing a little property, in order to restore to their brethren the inalienable rights of which they have been so unjustly deprived! If we say a word to them about doing justice to the poor, oppressed, degraded, and injured slave, we are directly told of the *consequences!* Oh, the dreadful consequences that would follow the enactment of just and suitable laws, for the protection, defence, and regulation of the poor slaves!

Let us notice a few cases of emancipation, and see what the consequences were which followed. In 1820, the emperor Alexander emancipated the whole population of the island of Oesel, amounting to no less than thirty-five thousand. No evil consequences followed. Slavery was abolished, suddenly, in 1829, by the Republic of Mexico. Columbia, another Republic of South America, did the same in 1821. Guatamala, in 1824. Peru and Chili, in 1828, and Bolivia about the same time. Buenos Ayres abolished slavery in 1816, and Monte Video more recently; many other nations who have done the same have been mentioned in another chapter. On the first of August, 1834, this work was done throughout the British dominions; and in Antigua and Bermuda, where the slaves were made unconditionally free, no difficulties of any kind have followed. But in some of the other West-India Islands, where they undertook to obtain work from the slaves after they were made free, and this too without the use of the whip, or the reward of money to pay them for their labors, as was anticipated, some uneasiness has followed.

But what evil consequences could possibly follow the emancipation of all the slaves in this land, if this should be done by the enactment of suitable and impartially administered laws? Would the enactment of just and equitable laws for their defence and supervision, could such laws any way produce one millionth part of the wickedness which now consti-

tates the very sum and substance of the slave-system? Why is it that persons who talk so much about the "consequences" of abolishing slavery in this nation, never undertake to make some estimate of the world of iniquity of the system, and the ten thousand thousand evils which it is constantly bringing upon the nation, and upon all who are connected with it? Think of the accumulated wrongs which nearly three millions of men, women, and children are compelled every day and every hour to suffer in this nation! Think of the theft, the fraud, the pollution, and the numberless other crimes which this system is now constantly inflicting upon both the enslaver and the enslaved! And think of the death struggle which must sooner or later come between the blacks and whites at the south, if slavery be not soon abolished by moral and peaceable means.

Hear one of Virginia's statesmen on this subject, Henry Berry, Esq., in a speech of his, delivered in the House of Delegates of Va., Jan. 20, 1832.

"Sir, I believe that no cancer on the physical body was ever more certain, steady, and fatal in its progress, than this cancer on the political body of Virginia. It is eating into her very vitals. And shall we admit that the evil is past remedy? Shall we act the part of a puny patient, suffering under the ravages of a fatal disease, who would say the remedy is too painful? "Pass as severe laws as you will to keep these unfortunate creatures in ignorance, it is in vain, unless you can extinguish that spark of intellect which God has given them. Sir, we have as far as possible *closed every avenue by which light might enter their minds;* we have only to go one step farther,—to extinguish the capacity to see the light,—and our work will be completed; they would then be reduced to the level with the beasts of the field, and we should be safe; and I am not certain that we would not do it, if we could find

out the necessary process, and that under the plea of *necessity*. But, sir, this is impossible; and can man be in the midst of freemen and not know what freedom is? Can he feel that he has the power to assert his liberty, and will he not do it? Yes, sir, with the certainty of time's current he will do it, whenever he has the power. The data are before us all, and every man can work out the process for himself. Sir, a *death struggle* must come between the two classes, in which one or the other will be extinguished forever. Who can contemplate such a catastrophe, as even possible, and be indifferent?"

15. *Partaker of his evil deeds.*

Let those members and ministers in the Christian church, who do not set their faces against the sin of slave-holding in all who practice it, think on these words.

16. *Slaves and souls of men.*

The *σωμάτων, bodies* and souls of men; these are here set down as articles of traffic, with beasts, sheep, and horses! And it should be noted also, that the trade here spoken of, in the souls and bodies of men was carried on by an *anti-christian* church.

"The Lord who judgeth her will effuse his wrath upon Babylon, because she makes merchandise of slaves, the souls and bodies of men. To number the persons of men with beasts, sheep, and horses, as the stock of a farm, or with bales of goods, as the cargo of a ship, is a most detestable and anti-christian practice."—[*Scott.*]

But from these words we learn that the time is coming when *no man shall buy the souls and bodies of men any more at all!* And, consequently, when the souls and bodies of men are neither bought nor sold any more, then all slave-holding must cease, and slavery become extinct throughout this nation and throughout the whole world! Yes, as sure as

we may depend upon the veracity of the infinite God, just so certainly we shall not be disappointed in expecting the utter extinction of this infernal system from the face of the globe. And then will come the world's *jubilee!* O the delightful anticipations of that auspicious day! When man shall enslave his fellow-man "no more at all!" when there shall be "no more" soul-drivers, nor "brokers in the trade of blood." When the clanking of chains upon human limbs shall be heard "no more at all." When the bloody thumb-screws and the lacerating whip shall torture "no more at all." Then shall the cruel man-stealer no more part those asunder whom God joins together; nor shall the parent's joy be damped and chilled any more by the sight of a Christian white man!

Merciful God! In the greatness of thy compassion, hasten, O hasten, the arrival of that blessed hour!

CHAPTER XIII.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD AGAINST SLAVERY.

The following testimonies are from some of the wisest and best of men that have ever lived; men of different notions, and of different political and religious creeds. From these we may see that the piety and wisdom of the world agrees perfectly with

the word of God, in condemning slavery as one of the greatest outrages upon the rights, the souls, and bodies of men, which it is possible for humanity to suffer.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created free and equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, *liberty*, and the pursuit of happiness. — [*Declaration of American Independence*, 1776.]

No longer shall the United States of America be famed for liberty. Oppression pervades their bowels; and while they exhibit a fair exterior to other parts of the world, they are nothing more than painted sepulchres, containing within them rottenness and corruption. — [*Othello, Baltimore Advertiser*, 1788.]

Everything that is miserable, horrible, and odious, is comprised in this abominable [slave] system. The slavery practiced in America is not only abominably unjust, inconsistent, and ridiculous, but it is a disgrace to human nature. There never yet was an instance, in which all the rights of human nature were more flagrantly violated than in the case of American slavery. Perfect liberty and equality with the whites is this day the inalienable right of

every negro in America. — [*Amynto, New-York,* 1796.]

Let who will startle or laugh, I steadfastly maintain that we must bring them [negroes] to an equal standing, in point of privileges, with the whites! They must enjoy all the rights belonging to human nature — [*Fiske, tutor in Dartmouth College,* 1795.]

African slavery is unjust in its nature, impolitic in its principles, and in its consequences ruinous to the industry and enterprise of the citizens of these States. — [*Memorial of the Connecticut State Society for the Promotion of Freedom, &c., praying for Congress to abolish the slave-trade, and signed by* Ezra Stiles, (President of Yale College) *President, and* Simeon Baldwin, *Secretary,* 1791.]

They [the slaves] have yet as much a right to their liberty as ever they had, and to demand it of him who holds them in bondage; and he denies them their right — which is of more worth to them than everything else they can have in the world, — every hour he refuses or neglects to set them at liberty.

Slavery is, in every instance, wrong, unrighteous, and oppressive, a very great and crying sin, there being nothing of the kind equal to it on the face of the earth. — [*Samuel Hopkins,* 1776.]

It will not do thus to talk like philosophers, and act like unrelenting tyrants; to be perpetually ser-

monizing it, with liberty for our text, and actual oppression for our commentary. — [*Wm. Pinckney, in the Maryland House of Delegates*, 1789.]

Domestic slavery is repugnant to the principles of Christianity. It prostrates every benevolent and just principle of action in the human heart. It is rebellion against the authority of a common Father. It is a practical denial of the extent and efficacy of the death of a common Saviour. It is an usurpation of the prerogative of the great sovereign of the universe, who has solemnly claimed an exclusive property in the souls of men. — [*Benjamin Rush*, 1794.]

I tremble for my country, when I recollect that God is just, and that his justice cannot sleep forever. The Almighty has no attribute that can take sides with us in such a struggle. — [*Jefferson*, 1782.]

I thought it my duty to expose the monstrous impiety and cruelty, not only of the slave-trade, but of slavery itself, in whatever form it is found; and likewise to assert that no authority on earth can ever render such enormous iniquities legal. — [*Grenville Sharp, as early as* 1787.]

Those are men-stealers who abduct, keep, sell, or buy slaves or freemen. To steal a man is the highest kind of theft. — [*Grotius.*]

He who supports the system of slavery is the enemy of the whole human race. He divides it into

two societies of legal assassins — the oppressors and the oppressed. It is the same thing as proclaiming to the world, if you will preserve your own life, instantly take away mine, for I want to have yours. — [*Abbe Raynal.*]

This torturing system has been pursued so far as to prevent the development of the mental faculties. In Virginia, to have been able to read, cost a black man his life. He demanded that the Africans should share the benefits promised by American liberty; and supported this demand by their own Bill of Rights. Where refutation is impossible, all tyrannies resemble each other. The negro suffered on the gallows. — [*Abbe Gregoire.*]

Slavery is vindicated in print, (1788) and defended in the House of Peers! Poor human reason, when wilt thou come to years of discretion! — [*Hannah More.*]

The three origins of the right of slavery, assigned by Justinian, are all built upon false foundations: First, Slavery is said to arise from captivity in war. The conqueror having a right to the life of his captive, if he spares that, has then a right to deal with him as he pleases. But this is untrue, if taken generally, — that, by the laws of nations, a man has a right to kill his enemy. He has only a right to kill him in particular cases, in cases of absolute necessity for self-defence. And it is plain, this absolute

necessity did not subsist, since he did not kill him, but made him prisoner. War itself is justifiable only on principles of self-preservation: therefore it gives us no right over prisoners, but to hinder their hurting us by confining them. Much less can it give a right to torture, or kill, or even to enslave an enemy when the war is over. Since, therefore, the right of making our prisoners slaves, depends on a supposed right of slaughter, that foundation failing, the consequence which is drawn from it must fail likewise.

It is said, secondly, slavery may begin by one man's selling himself to another. And it is true, a man may sell himself to work for another; but he cannot sell himself to be a slave, as above defined. Every sale implies an equivalent given to the seller, in lieu of what he transfers to the buyer. But what equivalent can be given for life or liberty? His property likewise, with the very price which he seems to receive, devolves *ipso facto* to his master, the instant he becomes his slave: in this case, therefore, the buyer gives nothing, and the seller receives nothing. Of what validity then can a sale be, which destroys the very principle upon which all sales are founded?

We are told, thirdly, that men may be born slaves by being the children of slaves. But this, being built upon the two former rights, must fall together

with them. If neither captivity nor contract can, by the plain law of nature and reason, reduce the parent to a state of slavery, much less can they reduce the offspring. — [*Blackstone.*]

If you have made a happy slave, you have made a degraded man. — [*Edmund Burke.*]

Slavery is a mass, a system of enormities, which incontrovertibly bids defiance to every regulation which ingenuity can devise, or power effect, but a total extinction. Why ought slavery to be abolished? Because it is incurable injustice. Why is injustice to remain for a single hour? — [*William Pitt.*]

Are we then fanatics? are we enthusiasts? be cause we cry, "do not rob! do not murder?" In whatsoever situation I may ever be, so long as I have a voice to speak, this question shall never be at an end. With regard to a regulation of slavery, my detestation of its existence induces me to know no such thing as a regulation of robbery, and a restriction of murder. — [*Charles James Fox.*]

If the situation of slaves were as happy as servitude could make them, I must not commit the enormous crime of selling man to man. Personal freedom is a right, of which he who deprives a fellow creature is absolutely criminal in so depriving him; and which he who withholds is no less criminal in withholding. — [*Charles James Fox.*]

Man-stealers! The worst of thieves; in comparison of whom, highway-robbers and house-breakers are innocent; and men-buyers are exactly on a level with men-stealers.

May I speak plainly to you? I must. Love constrains me; love to you, as well as to those you are concerned with.

Is there a God? You know there is. Is he a just God? Then there must be a state of retribution; a state wherein the just God will reward every man according to his works. Then what reward will be rendered to you? O, think betimes! before you drop into eternity! Think now, "He shall have judgment without mercy that showed no mercy." "The blood of thy brother" (for, whether thou wilt believe it or no, such he is in the sight of him that made him) "crieth against thee from the earth," from the ship, and from the waters. O, whatever it costs, put a stop to its cry before it be too late: *instantly, at any price*, were it the half of your goods, deliver thyself from blood guiltiness! Thy hands, thy bed, thy furniture, thy house, thy lands, are at present stained with blood. Surely it is enough; accumulate no more guilt; spill no more the blood of the innocent! Do not hire another to shed blood; do not pay him for doing it! Whether you are a Christian or no, shew yourself a man! Be not more savage than a lion or a bear! — [*Rev. John Wesley*]

Every man who cannot show that his negro hath, by his voluntary conduct, forfeited his liberty, is obligated immediately to manumit him. And to hold [such an one] in a state of slavery, is to be every day guilty of robbing him of his liberty, or of man-stealing — and fifty years from this time (1791) it will be as shameful for a man to hold a negro slave, as to be guilty of common robbery or theft. — [*Younger Edwards, Pastor of a church in New-Haven, and afterwards President of Union College.*]

Never was a system so big with wickedness and cruelty. In whatever part of it you direct your view, the eye finds no comfort, no satisfaction, no relief. It is the prerogative of slavery to separate from evil its concomitant good, and to reconcile discordant mischiefs. It robs war of its generosity, it deprives peace of its security. You have the vices of polished society, without its knowledge or its comforts; and the evils of barbarism, without its simplicity. Slavery is the full measure of pure, unmixed, unsophisticated wickedness; and scorning all competition, or comparison, it stands without a rival in the secure, undisputed possession of its detestable pre-eminence. — [*Wilberforce.*]

Slavery is a state so improper, so degrading, and so ruinous to the feelings and capacities of human nature, that it ought not to be suffered to exist. — [*Edmund Burke.*]

Slavery is made up of every crime that treachery, cruelty, and murder can invent; and men-stealers are the very worst of thieves. The most knavish tricks are practiced by these dealers in human flesh; and if slaves think of our general character, they must suppose that Christians are devils, and that Christianity was forged in hell. — [*Rowland Hill.*]

It is as really wicked to rob a man of his liberty, as to rob him of his life; and it is much more wicked than to rob him of his property. To hold a man in a state of slavery, is to be every day guilty of robbing him of his liberty, or of man-stealing. — [*Jonathan Edwards.*]

If we may judge of the future by the past, within fifty years from this time it will be as shameful for a man to hold a negro slave, as to be guilty of common robbery or theft. — [*Jonathan Edwards*, 1791.]

Slavery is injustice, which no consideration of policy can extenuate. — [*Bishop Horsley.*]

The Christian religion is opposed to slavery in its spirit and its principles; it classes men-stealers among murderers of fathers and of mothers, and the most profane criminals upon earth. — [*Bishop Porteus.*]

No man is by nature the property of another. The rights of nature must be someway forfeited, before they can be justly taken away. — [*Samuel Johnson.*]

The whole system is essentially and radically bad. Injustice and oppression are its fundamental principles. I do not affirm, or imagine that every slaveholder is therefore a wicked man; but if he be not, it is only upon the score of ignorance. Let us leave the deserts of the individual to Him who knoweth the heart; of his actions, *we* may speak; and we ought to speak in the language of reprobation, disgust, and abhorrence. — [*Jonathan Dymond.*]

The manner in which the duty of servants is inculcated, affords no ground for the assertion that the gospel authorizes one man to hold another in bondage, any more than the command to turn the other cheek, justifies the infliction of violence. — [*President Wayland.*]

The man who, on hearing the claim to property in man, does not see and feel distinctly that it is a cruel usurpation, is hardly to be reached by reasoning; for it is hard to find any plainer principles than what he begins with denying. — [*Channing.*]

To steal or buy an African on his own shores is piracy. In this act the greatest wrong is inflicted, the most sacred right violated. But if a human being cannot, without infinite injustice, be seized as property, then he cannot, without equal wrong, be held as such. — [*Channing.*]

We hear of some of the southern States enriching themselves by breeding slaves for sale. Of all the

licensed occupations of society, this is the most detestable. What! Rear human families, like herds of swine, and then scatter them to the four winds for gain. — [*Channing.*]

The household of the slave may be broken up arbitrarily by the master; but he finds his revenge, if revenge he asks, in the blight which the master's unfaithfulness sheds over his own domestic joys. A slave country reeks with licentiousness. It is tainted with a deadlier pestilence than the plague. — [*Channing.*]

Thus man devotes his brother, and destroys ;
And, worse than all, and most to be deplored,
As human nature's broadest, foulest blot,
Chains him and tasks him, and exacts his sweat
With stripes, that mercy, with a bleeding heart,
Weeps when she sees inflicted on a beast. COWPER.

Was man ordained the slave of man to toil,
Yoked with the brutes, and fettered to the soil —
Weighed in a tyrant's balance with his gold ?
No ! Nature stamped us in a heavenly mould ;
She bade no wretch his thankless labor urge,
Nor trembling take the pittance and the scourge.
CAMPBELL.

Who can with patience for a moment see
This medley mass of pride and misery,
Of whips and charters, manacles and rights,
Of slaving blacks, and democratic whites ?
To think that man, thou just and righteous God !

Should stand before thee with a tyrant's rod,
O'er creatures like himself — with souls from Thee —
And yet to boast of perfect liberty! THOMAS MOORE.

Of all slave-holders under Heaven, those of the United States appear to me the most reprehensible; for man is never so truly odious as when he inflicts upon others that which he himself abominates. — [*Edward Rushton to General Washington.*]

Slavery is a dominion and system of laws, the most merciless and tyrannical that ever were tolerated upon the face of the earth. — [*Paley.*]

While I am indulging in my views of American prospects, and American liberty, it is mortifying to be told that in that very country a large portion of the people are slaves! It is a dark spot on the face of the nation. Such a state of things cannot always exist. — [*Lafayette.*]

Robbers invade the property, and murderers the life of human beings, but he that holds another man in bondage, subjects the whole sum of his existence to oppression, bereaves him of every hope, and is therefore more detestable than robber and assassin combined. — [*Thomas Day.*]

Of all men living, an American citizen, who is the owner of slaves, is the most despicable — he is a political hypocrite of the very worst description. — [*O'Connell.*]

There is a law above all the enactments of human codes. It is the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, while men despise fraud, and loath rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject with indignation the wild and guilty phantasy, that man can hold property in man. — [*Henry Brougham.*]

I hold the system of slavery to be a crime of the deepest dye, and I would deal with it as crimes ought to be dealt with. — [*T. Fowell Buxton.*]

Slavery is the infringement of all laws — a law having a tendency to preserve slavery would be the grossest sacrilege. I beg as fervently of my country as I would for the lives of my children, that you will never consent that clime, or color, or creed, should make any distinction in your Republic. — [*Bolivar.*]

I wish that the time may soon come, when all our inhabitants, of every color and denomination, shall be free and equal partakers of our political liberty. [*John Jay*, 1785.]

It is the double curse of slavery to degrade all concerned with it, doing or suffering. The slave is the lowest in the scale of human beings, except the slave-dealer. — [*Montgomery.*]

By sophistry, evil habits, neglect, and the impostures of an anti-Christian priesthood, joined in one conspiracy with the violence of tyrannical govern-

ors, the understandings of men may become so darkened, and their consciences so lethargic, that a necessity arises for the re-publication of self-evident truths, and this, too, with a voice of loud alarm and impassioned warning. Such were the truths with which Thomas Clarkson and his excellent confederates conquered the legalized banditti of man-stealers — the numerous and powerful perpetrators of rapine, murder, and (worse than either) slavery! — [*Coleridge.*]

We, in an enlightened age, have greatly surpassed, in brutality and injustice, the most ignorant and barbarous ages; and while we are pretending to the finest feelings of humanity, are exercising unprecedented cruelty. We have planted slavery in the rank soil of sordid avarice; and the product has been misery in the extreme. — [*Elias Hicks.*]

Even the earth itself, which teems profusion under the cultivating hand of the free-born laborer, shrinks into barrenness from the contaminating sweat of a slave. — [*Montesquieu.*]

If we allow negroes to be men, it will begin to be believed that we ourselves are not Christians.—[*Montesquieu*]

Disguise thyself as thou wilt, still, slavery, thou are a bitter draught. — [*Sterne.*]

Not only the Christian religion, but nature herself cries out against a state of slavery. — [*Pope Leo X.*]

[All slaves in the British empire] shall become and be, to all intents and purposes, free and discharged from and of all manner of slavery, and slavery is hereby forever abolished and declared unlawful. — [*Act of British Parliament.*]

The gentleman has appealed to the Christian religion in justification of slavery. I would ask him upon what part of those pure doctrines does he rely; to which of those sublime precepts does he advert to sustain his position? Is it that which teaches charity, justice, and good-will to all, or is it that which teaches, "Do ye unto others as ye would they should do unto you." — [*Thomas J. Randolph of Virginia.*]

In heathen countries, slavery was in some sort excusable; among Christians it is an enormity and a crime, for which perdition has scarcely an adequate state of punishment.

I here register my testimony against the unprincipled, inhuman, anti-Christian, and diabolic slave-trade, with all its authors, promoters, abettors, and sacrilegious gains; as well as against the great devil, the father of it and them. — [*Dr. A Clark.*]

The holding of human beings in a state of slavery is in direct opposition to all the principles of natural right, and to the benign spirit of the religion of Christ. — [*Wesleyan Conference, England.*]

Men-stealers are inserted among these daring criminals, against whom the law of God directed its

curses. These kidnapped men to sell them for slaves; and this practice seems inseparable from the other iniquities and oppressions of slavery; nor can a slave-dealer keep free from this criminality, if "the receiver be as bad as the thief." — [*Scott.*]

The conference acknowledges that slavery is contrary to the laws of God, man, and nature, and hurtful to society; contrary to the dictates of conscience and pure religion; and doing what we would not that others should do unto us; and they pass their disapprobation upon all our friends who keep slaves, and they advise their freedom. — [*Dis. of the N. E. Church*, 1780.]

I do a man greater injury when I deprive him of his liberty, than when I deprive him of his property. It is vain for me to plead that I have the sanction of law; for this makes the injury the greater — it arms the community against him, and makes his case desperate. The owners of such slaves then are licensed robbers, and not the just proprietors of what they claim. Freeing them is not depriving them of property, but restoring it to the right owner. Human legislators should remember that they act in subordination of the greater ruler of the universe, and have no right to enact laws contrary to his. The people should know that Legislatures have not this power; and that a thousand laws can never make that innocent which the divine law has made crimi-

nal, or give them a right to that which the divine law forbids them to claim. In America, a slave is a standing monument of the tyranny and inconsistency of human governments. The master is the enemy of the slave; he has made open war upon him, and is daily carrying it on in unremitted efforts. Can any one imagine, then, that the slave is indebted to his master, and bound to serve him? Whence can the obligation arise? What is it founded upon? What is my duty to an enemy that is carrying on war against me? I do not deny, but in some circumstances it is the duty of the slave to serve; but it is a duty he owes himself, and not his master. — [*Rev. David Rice.*]

[The above was uttered by this minister of God, before the Convention which met to form the Constitution of the State of Kentucky, in 1790.]

As a *Virginian*, I do not question the master's title to his slave; but I put it to the gentleman, as a *man*, as a *moral man*, as a *Christian man*, whether he has not some doubt of his claim being as absolute and unqualified as that of other property? I acknowledge I tremble for the fate of my country at some future day, unless we "do something!" — [*J. A. Chandler of Virginia.*]

You may place the slave where you please — you may dry up to your utmost, the fountain of his feelings, the springs of his thought — you may close

upon his mind every avenue to knowledge, and cloud it over with artificial night — you may yoke him to your labor, as the ox which liveth only to work, and worketh only to live — you may put him under any process, which, without destroying his value as a slave, will debase and crush him as a rational being — you may do this, and the idea that he was born to be free, will survive it all. It is allied to his hope of immortality — it is the eternal part of his nature, which oppression cannot reach — it is a torch lit up in his soul by the hand of the Deity, and never meant to be extinguished by the hand of man. — [*James G. McDowell, jr. of Virginia.*]

There is a "still, small voice" which speaks to the heart of man in a tone too clear and distinct to be disregarded. It tells him that every system of slavery is based upon injustice and oppression. If gentlemen disregard it now, and lull their consciences to sleep, they may be aroused to a sense of their danger when it is too late to repair their errors. — [*P. A. Bolling of Virginia.*]

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances. — [*Constitution of the United States.*]

Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of this liberty. No laws shall be passed regulating or restraining the freedom of the press. — [*Maine.*]

The liberty of the press is essential to security of freedom in a State; it ought not, therefore, to be restrained in this Commonwealth. — [*Massachusetts.*]

The liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom in a State; it ought, therefore, to be inviolably preserved. — [*New-Hampshire.*]

The people have a right to freedom of speech, and of writing and publishing their sentiments concerning the transactions of government, and, therefore, the freedom of the press ought not to be restrained. — [*Vermont.*]

Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right.

No law shall ever be passed to curtail or restrain the liberty of speech or of the press. — [*Connecticut.*]

Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right; and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech, or of the press. In all prosecutions, or indictments for libels, the truth may be given in evidence to the jury: and if it shall appear to the jury that the matter charged

as libellous is true, and was published with good motives, and for justifiable ends, the party shall be acquitted; and the jury shall have the right to determine the law and the fact. — [*New-York.*]

The printing presses shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the Legislature, or any branch of government; and no law shall ever be made to restrain the right thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man; and every citizen may freely speak, write, and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty. [*Pennsylvania.*]

The press shall be free to every citizen who undertakes to examine the official conduct of men acting in a public capacity; and any citizen may print on any such subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty. — [*Delaware.*]

The liberty of the press ought to be inviolably preserved. — [*Maryland.*]

The freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotic governments. — [*Virginia.*]

The freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and therefore ought never to be restrained. — [*North Carolina.*]

The trial by jury, as heretofore used in this State, and the liberty of the press, shall be forever inviolably preserved. — [*South Carolina.*]

Freedom of the press, and trial by jury, as heretofore used in this State, shall remain inviolate; and no ex facto law shall be passed. — [*Georgia.*]

The printing presses shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the Legislature, or any branch of government; and no law shall ever be made to restrain the right thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man; and every citizen may freely speak, write, and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty. [*Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Louisiana, and Illinois.*]

The printing presses shall be open and free to every citizen who wishes to examine the proceedings of any branch of government, or the conduct of any public officer; and no law shall ever restrain the right thereof. Every citizen has an indisputable right to speak, write, or print upon any subject, as he thinks proper, being liable for the abuse of that liberty. — [*Ohio.*]

Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

No law shall ever be passed to curtail or restrain the liberty of speech or of the press. — [*Mississippi.*]

Every citizen may freely speak, write, and pub-

lish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty. — [*Alabama.*]

The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man; and every person may freely speak, write, and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty. — [*Missouri.*]

If any citizen of the United States, being of the crew or ship's company of any foreign ship or vessel engaged in the slave trade, or any person whatever, being of the crew or ship's company of any ship or vessel owned in the whole or part, or navigated for, or in behalf of any citizen or citizens of the United States, shall land, from any such ship or vessel, and an any foreign shore seize any negro or mulatto, not held to service or labor by the laws of either of the States or Territories of the United States, with intent to make such negro or mulatto a slave, or shall decoy, or forcibly bring or carry, or shall receive such negro or mulatto on board any such ship or vessel, with intent as aforesaid, such citizen or person shall be adjudged a *pirate*, and on conviction thereof, before the Circuit Court of the United States, for the district wherein he may be brought or found, shall suffer DEATH. — [*Laws of the United States.*]

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